LINLITHGOW

AND ITS VICINITY.

Andrew Fleming
Linlithgow 1889

LINLITHGOW NEW TOWN HALL.

From a Photograph by Mr. A. B. Clark.

MR. RUSSELL WALKER, ARCHITECT.

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AND ITS VICINITY.

BY

JAMES McALPINE,

One of the Magistrates of the Burgh.

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PREFACE.

At the request of the Trustees of the Linlithgow-Bridge School-House we delivered a lecture on the evening of Friday, February 2nd of the present year, the subject being "Linlithgow and its Surroundings." Several of those present suggested its publication, and, after giving their suggestion due consideration, we resolved to make further investigations into the history of the ancient Burgh. The result of those investigations is the brief history of Linlithgow, now submitted to the public.

In our researches we have examined and compared works by over twenty different authors. Where statements of a contradictory nature were discovered we endeavoured, by careful comparison, to ascertain which view coincided with the preponderance of evidence bearing on the subject, and have given effect to the same in our treatment of the various incidents herein recorded.

We owe a debt of gratitude to those gentlemen who have supplied us with several standard works, without which it would have been well nigh impossible to arrive at the truth concerning many of the most important events connected with Linlithgow. We would therefore

most cordially tender one and all of those gentlemen our sincere thanks.

In writing the following condensed history we have, as far as possible, tried to exclude extraneous matter, but where we may have transgressed that rule the reason will be quite obvious, viz., that the reader might be furnished with the circumstances which brought about those incidents which transpired in or near the Burgh, for in some instances without the cause being stated the effect would certainly be misunderstood.

J. M.

Linlithgow, October, 1889.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are sixty-six Royal Burghs in Scotland, exclusive of Parliamentary and Barony Burghs. Many of these have occupied an important place in the history of Scotland, but we are strongly impressed with the conviction that there are few, if any, of them which have such a record of interesting and instructive events associated with them as those associated with the Royal Burgh of Linlithgow. No doubt several of those events have left a lasting stain on the ancient Burgh, but, on the other hand, many most important transactions have taken place in and around Linlithgow, not merely of local interest, but also of a national character, which were calculated to prove most beneficial to the nation at large.

For several hundreds of years Linlithgow occupied such a conspicuous position in the nation's history that its influence extended throughout not only the whole of Scotland, but of England as well. On many occasions England had her attention turned towards Linlithgow, and waited with extreme anxiety the results of certain events which were transpiring in the old Burgh. Linlithgow has been the birthplace of persons whose names shall be handed down to posterity with a most unenviable record against them, while the names of others

shall be honoured by generations yet unborn. Those honourable names are well worthy of a place among the country's heroes, who, forasmuch as they realised their responsibility, were most energetic in the dissemination of truth. For truth those men lived, and for truth they willingly died; yea, in the prospect of death natives of Linlithgow and its vicinity have rejoiced that they were counted worthy to shed their blood in the defence of principles they held so precious, and for the sake of the Master whom they delighted to serve.

In the following sketch of the principal incidents connected with Linlithgow's past history many minor details will purposely be omitted, as they would certainly prove neither edifying nor interesting.

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LINLITHGOW AND ITS VICINITY.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUPPOSED FOUNDER OF LINLITHGOW—FORMATION OF ROYAL BURGHS—LINLITHGOW CONSTITUTED A ROYAL BURGH—PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY BURGHS AND BURGESSES—COURT OF THE FOUR BURGHS—ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH—MANUEL NUNNERY AND BURGH MILLS—EDWARD I. BUILDS A CASTLE AT LINLITHGOW—ITS CAPTURE AND DEMOLITION—THE TOWN SURRENDERED BY BALIOL TO ENGLAND.

THERE is nothing of a very reliable character from which we are able to discover the precise date of the foundation of the town of Linlithgow. One writer, however, asserts that it was founded by King Achaius, the sixty-sixth king of Scotland. If this be so, then Linlithgow must have been in existence for the lengthened period of nearly eleven hundred years, as Achaius ascended the Throne about the year 787 A.D., and died in 819 A.D.

Supposed Founder of Linlithgow.

It was not, however, until the beginning of the 12th century that Linlithgow began to come into prominence,

when several of the towns and villages were formed into Royal Burghs. In the reign of Alexander I. (1107-1124 A.D.), son of Malcolm Canmore, the small clusters of hamlets which had been erected near the Royal and Baronial castles for the sake of protection, were first constituted Burghs. The lands surrounding those communities at that early period belonged almost exclusively to the kings. In a very few cases they belonged to the barons, and in some others to the monasteries. David I., youngest son of Malcolm, followed his brother's example, and also constituted several communities Royal Burghs in 1124, Linlithgow being one of those thus favoured. It is, therefore, about 765 years since Linlithgow took rank as one of the King's burghs.

Formation of Royal Burghs.

The Royal Burghs, when first constituted, and for many centuries afterwards, enjoyed special privileges, such as the exclusive liberty of Burgesses to trade in home and foreign markets. By a statute of King David I. it was enacted that his Burgesses should be "free through all his realm, always by land and sea, to sell and buy for their own profit, without any trouble, because they were under his sure protection." Again, Royal Burghs were a safe refuge for the escaped slave, as it was a law in Scotland that "if any bondman of an earl or baron, or any other man, should come into any Burgh, become a burgess, and live a year and a day without challenge from his master or his bailie, he should be for ever free, and enjoy all the liberties of the Burgh and of a burgess, unless he was the king's bondman."

Privileges of Royal Burghs.

From the following circumstance it is evident that the Burgh of Linlithgow occupied a prominent position in the country in the reign of David II. The "Court of the Four Burghs" was established by David I. as an Appeal Court, to which all the other Burghs or trading communities, when aggrieved by any judgment passed in any of their respective districts, had the right of appeal. That Court was originally composed of the Burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. But in 1348 an Act was passed by Parliament at Perth substituting Linlithgow and Lanark in place of Berwick and Roxburgh, which had been captured by the English, shortly after David had been taken prisoner.

Court of the Four Burghs.

The Town, at an early period in its history, seems to have been the exclusive property of the King, from whom the inhabitants held their houses. David I. gifted to the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood the skins of sheep and other such animals killed within the Burgh. This generosity to the clergy was an indication of the King's earnest desire for the progress of religion amongst his people. He seems to have been most anxious that the people of Scotland should be well supplied with churches, and, in consequence of his erecting so many of these, he impoverished the Crown Exchequer to such an extent that one of his successors declared him to have been a "sair saint to the Crown."

At Torphichen he established the Order of St. John, and made it subject to the Church at Linlithgow, but there is no mention of David building a Church in Linlithgow, from which it may be inferred that a church existed in the town prior to his day. The present church of St. Michael

was built by Alexander II. about the year 1241, and shortly thereafter other religious houses were erected in the Burgh for different Orders of monks and nuns. In 1290 a convent for White Friars was established on the south side of the town on the rising ground called Friar's Brae. A well near it, still in existence, bears the name of Friar's Well. The Convent was built by the inhabitants, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the east part of the town a Monastery was erected for Dominican or Black Friars, and outside the Royalty, at St. Magdalen's, a house was occupied by the Order of Lazarites. The latter was converted by James I. into an institution for the shelter of pilgrims and other strangers. A chapel, which was dedicated to St. Ninian, was also built in the western part of the Burgh. Surely, then, there was no lack of religious fraternities, even in those days, in the old town.

Churches, Monasteries, and Convents built in Linlithgow.

Malcolm IV., grandson of David I., built and endowed a convent at Manuel-haugh, and the Burgh Mills and adjoining lands were given for the maintenance of the nuns residing there. The mills and lands were conveyed over to the Burgh in the 16th century by the lady superior, Miss Livingstone. James VI. afterwards confirmed this gift to the Burgh in a charter granted on the decease of Margaret Livingstone, relict of Henry Forrest, Provost of Linlithgow.

The ruins of that old convent may still be seen on the banks of the Avon, near the village of Burnbridge, and cannot be less than seven hundred and twenty-five years old. Towards the end of last century, while the Avon was on flood, the convent and several houses in the immediate neighbourhood were destroyed by the rush of water.

Edward I., the "Scourge of Scotland," as he has been called, made his appearance in Linlithgow towards the end of the 13th century. It appears that the locality was most suitable for the conducting of those operations which he then had in view for the subjugation of Scotland. He first encamped at the Burgh Muir, a full mile east from the town, in 1298. He was then preparing to meet the Scots in deadly conflict on the following day at Falkirk, While encamped at the Burgh Muir, Edward received a kick from his horse, by which two of his ribs were broken. Notwithstanding this mishap he mounted his horse, and, proceeding on his journey, passed through Linlithgow on his way to the battlefield, early on the morning of the day on which he was confronted by the brave Wallace. After the engagement, Edward was compelled to remain for several days inactive, owing to the injuries which he had received at the Burgh Muir. In the summer of 1301 he again sought to carry fire and sword into some of the principal parts of Scotland, but certain circumstances impeded his progress. A severe storm and an early winter set in, by which many of his men and horses perished. He was, therefore, compelled, with the remainder of his army, to quarter in Linlithgow, where he passed the winter.

Edward I. at the Burgh Muir.

During his sojourn he built a Castle in Linlithgow, and in January, 1302, prior to his leaving the district, he concluded another treaty with the Scots.

His Castle at Linlithgow.

The "Hammer of Scotland," as Edward is designated in his epitaph in Westminster Abbey, had passed away but a few years when Scotland determined, if possible, to throw

off the yoke of England. Several of the strongholds had been re-taken by the Scots from the English, when a brave farmer, named Binnock or Binny, residing in Linlithgow, resolved to make an effort to drive the English out of the Castle which Edward had erected about ten years previously. Binny, it seems, could not brook the idea of the Castle in his native town continuing to be occupied by the English. Accordingly he devised a stratagem, the details of which he communicated to a few confidential friends and neighbours, who were about as enthusiastic over the matter as himself. Dr. Taylor furnishes the following account of the stratagem and its successful issue :—"Binny had been accustomed to supply the garrison with hay, and they had lately required from him a fresh supply. He assured them of the excellence of the forage, and undertook to send it to the fort early in the morning. Having stationed a party of his friends in ambush near the gate, he concealed eight armed men in his wain, and covered them with hay. The team was driven by a servant, who bore a sharp axe under his gaberdion, while Binny himself walked carelessly at its side. The porter, on the approach of the expected wain, lowered the drawbridge and raised the portcullis. As soon as the waggon had reached the middle of the gateway, the driver, on a sign from his master, suddenly cut asunder the soam or tackle by which the oxen were attached to the waggon. Binny at the same instant shouted the signal-word, which was "Call all, call all," and, drawing the sword which he had under his country habit, killed the porter. The armed men then leaped up from under the hay where they lay concealed, and attacked the astonished garrison. The waggon was so placed that the gate could not be shut,

Capture of Edward's Castle by Binnock.

or the portcullis lowered, or the drawbridge raised, and the Scots who were in ambush, hearing the signal agreed on, rushed in to the assistance of their companions, overpowered and slew the garrison Bruce worthily rewarded Binny for his gallantry, and, faithful to his usual policy, ordered the castle to be demolished." It was, however, rebuilt by the English after the death of Robert the Bruce, and David II., son of the Bruce, further improved it. It has been affirmed that the estate of Binny, about four miles to the south of Linlithgow, was bestowed by the King upon the brave farmer who had captured Edward's Castle. This stratagem of Binny has won for him the appellation of "The William Tell of Scotland."

Not more than three years after Binny's successful exploit, Linlithgow was visited by Edward II., King of England ; but the circumstances associated with this visit greatly contrasted with those of Edward's haughty father when he took up his quarters in the town. The father was master of the situation, and was in a position to demand the most exorbitant terms of peace from the Scots ; but the son, in June, 1314, when he passed through the burgh for the last time, was then fleeing for his life. He had gone to Bannockburn with the hope of crushing the Scots, but instead of doing so, he, on observing the total rout of his army—thirty thousand Englishmen lay dead on the field—fled, hotly pursued by Douglas with about sixty horsemen until Linlithgow was reached, where the chase had to be given up. The English King, when he passed through the town, was an almost broken-hearted man.

Edward II. at Linlithgow.

About the year 1333, during the minority of David II., Baliol succeeded, with the assistance of Edward III. of England, in usurping the Scottish Throne. In the following year the usurper, in order to compensate Edward for services rendered, made over to him certain towns, castles, and other properties in Scotland, among which were the town and castle of Linlithgow, with the adjacent lands and the constabulary of the burgh.

Town and Castle Surrendered to England.

The long and ruinous war with England during the reign of David II. had greatly curtailed the export trade of Scotland, and commercial depression in consequence prevailed. The revenue from the Crown lands being therefore much diminished, a re-valuation of said lands was ordained in 1366, to provide the ransom demanded by England for the release of the Scottish King. By the new valuation, the County of Linlithgow paid to the Crown a large proportion of the money thus collected. Indeed, only one shire contributed a larger sum, while two others contributed an equal amount to that of Linlithgow. We mention this for the purpose of showing that Linlithgow and its vicinity from a very early period occupied an outstanding position among the counties and burghs in Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARL OF DOUGLAS ASPIRES TO THE THRONE—CHARTER GRANTED BY ROBERT II. TO LINLITHGOW—BLACKNESS LINLITHGOW'S FORT—PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE MARCHES — THE TOWN TWICE BURNED — MISERABLE DWELLINGS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE—LINLITHGOW A FAVOURITE RESIDENCE OF THE KINGS — BATTLE OF BLACKNESS—APPARITION TO JAMES IV.

IN the year 1370 the nobles of Scotland assembled in Linlithgow for the purpose of congratulating Robert II. on his accession to the Throne, he having been nominated king by his uncle David. Buchanan says that while they were assembled the following incident occurred, which might have imperilled the tranquillity of the nation. The Earl of Douglas, a descendant of Baliol, demanded the Throne as his hereditary right. The other nobles, however, his personal friends not excepted, repudiated his claim, and, after some discussion, the matter terminated in an amicable arrangement, brought about by a judicious suggestion of the King. Douglas ultimately promised obedience to Robert as his sovereign, and the king, that the friendship of the Earl might not only be obtained, but also permanently maintained, espoused his own daughter to the Earl's son.

Robert II. was crowned in March, 1371, and his reign proved most advantageous to Linlithgow. In October, 1388, an Act was passed granting a charter to the Burgh. The following is a translation of the Latin original, which, along with a *fac simile* of the original document, was recently published by the authority of the Town Council:—

Charter Granted by Robert II.

"Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all "worthy men of his whole land, clerics and laymen, wisheth "health; Know ye that we have granted and at ferme "dimitted to our lovite and faithful burgesses and com- "munity of our Burgh of Lynlithcu, our Burgh aforesaid, "together with the haven of Blaknes, the fermes of the "Burgh, and petty customs and toll dues, with courts, and "the issues of courts, and other just pertinents whatsoever: "To be holden and had to our said burgesses and com- "munity aforesaid, and their successors, for ever, with all "their pertinents above mentioned, in fee and heritage, "as is above expressed: Paying therefor to us and our "heirs, the said burgesses and community and their suc- "cessors, into our royal exchequer, five pounds of sterlings "every year, and at the usual terms: In Witness of which "thing, to this our present charter we have commanded "our Seal to be set: Witnesses, the venerable fathers in "Christ; Walter, Bishop of Saint Andrews, and John, "Bishop of Dunkeld, our Chancellor; John Earl of Carric, "Steward of Scotland, our firstborn; Robert Earl of Fyfe "and Menteith, our beloved son; George Earl of March, "our kinsman; Archibald of Douglas and Thomas of "Erskyne our beloved kinsmen, Knights; At Lithcu, the "twenty third day of October, and of our reign the eigh- "teenth year."

Blackness being thus constituted the Port of Linlithgow, the customs of necessity added a large revenue to the town's finances. The Burgh had also conferred on it the exclusive right to the shipping trade along the coast, extending to nearly fifteen miles. Blackness was then a place of extensive commerce, and many wealthy shipowners carried on a very large business between the Burgh's port and Holland, Bremen, Hamburg, Queensburg, and Dantzic. Goods were imported into this country from these places, were unshipped at Blackness, and thence were conveyed to the west of Scotland. There were then at the Port warehouses and a custom-house belonging to the town. Commerce continued to flourish there from the end of the 14th century until the 17th, when Borrowstounness and South Queensferry succeeded in establishing a trade at their respective ports. The trade at Blackness in consequence gradually diminished, and, as a matter of course, Linlithgow lost the revenue which for about two hundred and fifty years it had obtained from that source. Linlithgow offered strenuous opposition to Queensferry being raised to the position of a Royal Burgh, and although that opposition failed, she succeeded in obtaining a prior right for her burgesses (if they so desired), to purchase one half of the goods imported at Queensferry. The latter town was also laid under an obligation to pay to Linlithgow an annual sum of 10 merks, which continued to be paid until about fifty years ago. Linlithgow burgesses possessed all the privileges belonging to the burgesses of Queensferry without possessing the usual qualification.

Linlithgow's Port and its Rivals.

Robert II., who conferred those honours and wealth on the town, appears to have considered himself entitled to

have some control over the burgh funds, for he granted to his son-in-law and several others "pensions out of the great customs of Linlithgow."

Blackness was on more than one occasion destroyed by fire, caused by its bombardment at the hands of the English, and it seems to have experienced frequent desolation by the ravages of war. During the reign of Edward III. it suffered serious damage at the hands of Lord Clynton, High Admiral of England. Several of the vessels lying in the harbour were captured, and the residue burned. In the following century attacks of a like destructive nature were made on the port, when the village and shipping were destroyed by the English. It has been asserted that the Castle of Blackness marks the eastern extremity of the Antoninus Wall, constructed in the first Christian century, and from this it may be inferred that the district has been the scene of warlike operations even from the time of the Roman invasion of Scotland.

Attacks on Blackness.

In the reign of James III. a charter was granted by which Linlithgow was empowered to demolish the Castle of Blackness, and with the material therefrom to construct a harbour. On the other hand, when the Act of Union between the English and Scottish Parliaments was ratified in 1707, Blackness Castle was one of the fortresses whose preservation was guaranteed.

Most probably it was about the time when commerce flourished at Blackness that the Riding of the Town's

Marches originated. The Burgh then, as a matter of necessity, had to exercise a careful supervision over the important affairs affecting the town's interest at its port. The custom of annually appointing a Bailie there doubtless commenced then, as such a person was essential to the successful control of the Burgh's interests. The different trades in the town could not be otherwise than deeply interested in the annual visit of the Magistrates to Blackness, for the purpose of making said appointment; hence the turn-out of the various corporations and fraternities to accompany the Magistrates on the occasion.

Probable Origin of the Marches.

Robert II. is said to have been the first King who held a meeting of Parliament in Linlithgow, in the year 1388. His son, Robert III., also convened a meeting of Parliament in the Burgh eleven years afterward. He it was who died of a broken heart in consequence of his son, the heir to the Throne, having been taken prisoner by the English, while he was on a journey to France.

In the beginning of the 15th century Linlithgow was burned, first in 1411, during the regency of the Duke of Albany, and again in 1424, the year in which James I., after a captivity of 19 years in England, was restored to his country and his throne. The burning of the town on the latter occasion appears to have been the deliberate act of an incendiary, prompted by the revenge of the disaffected factions, who had been summarily dealt with by James, because of their mismanagement of public matters during his imprisonment. This conflagration must have been very

Town Destroyed by Fire.

general, the whole town having more or less suffered, while the Palace and Church of St. Michael shared the same desolating fate. The houses of the common people were then made of rather inflammable material, most of them being constructed of wood, with thatched roofs. Sylvius, who was afterwards raised to the chair of St. Peter, informs us that at that time "the houses in the towns of Scotland, when constructed of stone at all, were built without lime, and in the villages they were roofed with turf, while a cowhide supplied the place of a door." Another writer says that in some districts in Scotland the houses were still more wretched. They were made of turf walls, supported by poles, the reason ascribed for the temporary nature of the dwellings being that, in the event of an enemy invading the country, the inhabitants might level their houses with the ground, and thus deprive the enemy of shelter. This was considered no great hardship on those whose houses were thus demolished, because on the departure of the foe they could rebuild their houses in three or four days.

Linlithgow a Centre of National Activity.

Although a large number of the houses in Linlithgow were not what they ought to have been, the Burgh continued to grow in importance, and its influence during each successive reign was more and more felt throughout the nation, until it became a centre of national activity, where important business, civil and ecclesiastical, was transacted. The Scottish Parliament was frequently summoned to meet in the ancient Palace, and the Court of Session, High Court of Justiciary, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, as well as other Courts and Committees appointed by the Government, often met in Linlithgow. In a word, the old Burgh

seems to have been second to no other in the kingdom, Edinburgh excepted, in the estimation of many of the kings. For many generations they selected Linlithgow Palace as one of their principal residences—we might have said their favourite residence. The Jameses, in particular, were great admirers of it. James II., on the occasion of his marriage in 1449, settled on his bride the lordship of Linlithgow and other lands, valued at 10,000 crowns. Such a dowry may appear most insignificant, considering the exalted position of the parties interested, but if we take into consideration the difference between the value of money and land then and now, the dowry bestowed by the King on his bride appears not unworthy of the event. James the Third and also James the Fourth seem to have imitated their ancestor, for both of them settled on their respective brides the Palace, the lordship of Linlithgow, and all the crown lands connected therewith.

James III. Abducted from the Palace.

James III., like many of the Scottish kings, was crowned when but a boy, being at the time only seven years of age. At such an age it is not surprising that the boy King was exceedingly fond of flattery, by reason of which designing men took advantage of the youthful monarch. While James, in 1466, being then 13 years of age, presided over his Exchequer Court in the Palace of Linlithgow, Lord Boyd, Chief Justice of Scotland, came to the town with a considerable company of his own party, entered the Palace, dismissed the Court, and by flattery constrained the King to permit himself to be conveyed to Edinburgh. There seems to have been no remonstrance on the part of the King against this action of Boyd, in thus unlawfully taking

possession of his Majesty's person. When, however, Parliament assembled, Boyd was called to account for his treasonable conduct. He made no attempt to palliate his guilt, knowing well the King's favour toward him, and accordingly craved pardon, which was readily granted, James declaring that he left Linlithgow of his own free will. Notwithstanding the pardon which was then granted to the Chief Justice and his followers under the Great Seal, only three years had elapsed when the subject was again revived. During the interval the royal favour had been withdrawn, and Boyd's power and influence in consequence had passed away. He was about to be arrested and put on trial for treason, when, to save his life, he fled to England, where he died. Sir Alexander Boyd, his brother, was not, however, so fortunate. He was arrested and tried for treason. The charge was founded on the part he took in the King's abduction from Linlithgow. He was declared guilty, and was shortly thereafter executed.

There were frequent misunderstandings between James and his nobles, and conspiracies were formed against him on several occasions. While he resided in Linlithgow Palace a number of conspirators laid wait for him, but, having received information of the plot devised for his destruction, he concealed himself in one of the vaults in the Palace, and thus, for the time being, escaped the violent death which awaited him.

Attempted Assassination of James III. in the Palace.

In 1487 the unfortunate King found himself again in very painful circumstances. The disaffected nobles rose in arms and succeeded in inducing the heir to the throne to

join them against the King, his father. There was no other course left to the grief-stricken Monarch but to assemble the Royal forces, amounting to about thirty thousand men. The rebels were led by the King's son, afterwards James IV., while the royal army was commanded by the King himself. The opposing armies met in battle near Blackness, where a fierce encounter took place, and a considerable number were slain on both sides. Negotiations were then opened for the purpose of arranging terms of peace between the King and the insurgent barons. The terms agreed on secured peace only for a brief space, and the pacification effected at Blackness was soon followed by a fresh insurrection. The rebellious barons once more summoned their forces, and the Prince again led the rebel army. A disastrous engagement for the Royal cause took place at Sauchieburn, a short distance from the field of Bannockburn. On the discomfiture of his troops, the King, at the urgent request of the few barons who had remained faithful to him, fled from the field, but was thrown from his horse about a mile from the scene of conflict, and while insensible was carried into a mill near by, by the miller and his wife. On regaining consciousness, James inquired for a priest to whom he might confess. One of the pursuers coming up at the time, and, hearing from the miller's wife the King's request, professed himself to be a priest, and, bending over the unfortunate King with the avowed purpose of hearing his confession, plunged his dagger into the unsuspecting Monarch. The victorious army returned in triumph to Linlithgow on the succeeding day, June 19th, 1488.

Battle of Blackness.

By the death of James III. the way was now clear for the leader of the rebel army to ascend the throne. The Prince, however, when informed of the tragical death of his father, was overwhelmed with remorse, and, as is also stated, he, James IV., throughout the whole of his reign, had frequent experiences of deep regret because of the part he took in the rebellion against his father, the late King. It appears that James, although frequently annoyed at the remembrance of his unnatural conduct, resolved to deny himself none of the enjoyments within his reach derivable from gambling and other amusements of various kinds. Much of his time in Linlithgow he spent thus engaged in unrestrained pleasure. Only a few weeks had elapsed from the date of the sad event which, he professed, caused him so much grief, when he was found in Linlithgow, day after day, spending large sums of money playing at dice, cards, and other similar games. He kept a party of musicians in the Burgh for a whole year for the purpose of playing to the Spanish Embassy, and on many other occasions James provided musical and dramatic entertainments in the Palace, for the amusement of his Queen and courtiers.

A remarkable story is recorded by many of the Scottish historians concerning James IV. before he left Linlithgow on his fatal journey to Flodden. He had despatched a letter to his brother-in-law, Henry the Eighth of England, in which he complained of personal and national wrongs received at Henry's hands. This letter was considered by the English king tantamount to a declaration of war. The Scottish Queen earnestly, but in vain, entreated her husband to desist from

Apparition to James IV. in St. Michael's.

entering upon hostilities with her brother. His nobles were also on this particular occasion opposed to the invasion of England. The King, however, determined to proceed, so that neither the Queen's tears and entreaties nor the remonstrances of the barons could alter his purpose. Margaret, seeing that her husband was not to be moved from his purpose by ordinary means, devised the following stratagem:—The King was then in Linlithgow engaged with State affairs, and looked very dejected. He had ordered a throne to be erected for him in St. Catherine's Aisle in the Church of St. Michael, and while there praying to God for a blessing on his undertaking, "a man came," says Pitscottie, "clothed in a blue gown, in at the kirk door, and belted about him in a roll of linen cloth; a pair of buskins on his feet to the great of his legs; with all other hose and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head but long red yellow hair behind and on his haffets (cheeks), which went down to his shoulders; but his forehead was bald and bare. He seemed to be a man of two-and-fifty years, with a great pike-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring (inquiring) for the King, saying he desired to speak to him. At last he came where the King was sitting in the desk at his prayers; and when he saw him he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned down grofling on the desk before him, and said to him:—'Sir King, my mother sent me to you, desiring you not to pass at this time, where you are purposed, for if thou dost, thou wilt not fare well on thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee.' . . . By the time this man had spoken these words unto the King's grace, the even-song was near done, and the King paused on these words, studying to give an answer; but in the mean-

time, before the King's eyes and in the presence of all the lords that were about him, this man vanished away and could noways be seen or comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the sun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be seen." Taylor says that "the tradition of Linlithgow bears that the mysterious stranger eluded the grasp of those who attempted to seize him, but gliding behind a curtain which concealed a private stair leading towards the upper part of the church; and that on leaving this building, he crossed the court, and entered the Palace by a small door under the chapel window."

We have seen the truth of this story questioned, but Sir David Lyndsay, Lyon-Herald, who was present when the occurrence took place, narrated the incident to Buchanan, who in turn affirmed the story to be authentic. The person who appeared to the King is said to have been a servant of Queen Margaret,—a very likely thing. But although every possible means were adopted to persuade the King against prosecuting the war with England, he obstinately declined to recede from his purpose. He soon afterwards led his army to Flodden, where he was slain, and with him ten thousand of Scotland's sons. That battle was one of the most disastrous on record for Scotland, in which perished probably the most popular King who has sat on the Scottish Throne (Sept., 1513). It has been affirmed that there were few of the principal families in Scotland who had not one or more of their number slain on that occasion.

The following stanza from Sir Walter Scott's "Marmion" relates to the foregoing incident. The two persons

alluded to by Sir Walter as having tried to stop the person who appeared to the King were Sir David Lyndsay and John Inglis, the Marshal:—

The wondering monarch seemed to seek
For answer, and found none;
And, when he raised his head to speak,
The monitor was gone.
The Marshal and myself had cast
To stop him as he outward pass'd,
But, lighter than the whirlwind blast,
He vanished from our eyes.

CHAPTER III.

JAMES V. BORN IN THE PALACE—BATTLE OF LINLITHGOW BRIDGE—ARCHBISHOP BEATON—MARTYRDOM OF PATRICK HAMILTON OF KINGSCAVIL—JAMES HAMILTON, SHERIFF OF LINLITHGOW—MARTYRDOM OF HENRY FORREST—HONOURS CONFERRED ON THE KING—PERFORMANCE IN THE PALACE GROUNDS — CHARTER GRANTED BY JAMES V.—ROBERT GIBB OF CARRIBBER.

JAMES THE FIFTH was born in Linlithgow Palace on April 10th, 1512, and was only 17 months old when his father was slain at Flodden. Queen Margaret, on the death of her husband, was appointed Regent; but, because of her imprudence, the Government deposed her from the exalted position to which she had been raised. Several of the Barons were appointed to wait upon her to demand the custody of the young King and his brother, that they might be placed under proper guardians. This she at first positively refused to do, and fled to Stirling, where, observing that further resistance was unavailing, she delivered up the young Sovereign and his brother. The Queen-mother then retired to the Castle in Edinburgh, but not being satisfied with her position there, she returned to Linlithgow Palace, accompanied by the

James V. Born in the Palace.

Earl of Angus, whom she had married a few months after the late King's death. Here she remained for some time, but being apprehensive of annoyance from those nobles who were unfavourable to Angus, she quitted Linlithgow under cover of night, attended only by her husband and a few servants.

The young King seems to have had a particular liking for Linlithgow, even from his boyhood, as much of his time was spent in the ancient Burgh. Here it was that the rival parties in the country made great exertions to become custodiers of his person. In 1525 the Earl of Arran raised an army of 5000, and advanced on Linlithgow, his object being the rescue of the King from the thraldom of the Douglas family. The Royal Standard was at once unfurled by the Earl of Angus, who, at the head of a large army, proceeded to confront Arran; but when the latter observed the Royal Standard approaching, he withdrew his forces and retreated without striking a blow.

Those two Earls, although then prepared to meet each other in open conflict, seem immediately thereafter to have become friends, as we find them fighting side by side, with the same object in view, in the following year at Linlithgow-Bridge. The Earl of Lennox, in conjunction with the Queen-mother and Archbishop Beaton, resolved to make an attempt to deliver the young Sovereign from the hands of the Douglases. Accordingly a force of 10,000 men was raised, and set out under the leadership of Lennox from Stirling. They had proceeded on their journey to Edinburgh (where James then was) as far as Linlithgow-Bridge, when they were met by Arran with a large army, having

Battle of Linlithgow-Bridge.

been hastily despatched by the Hamiltons. Angus, accompanied by James, was also on the march at the head of a supplementary force, but the King had no sympathy with the haughty Earl in whose keeping he had for some time been, and accordingly waited an opportunity to escape from his hands. He therefore delayed as much as possible the onward march of Angus, who was in consequence compelled to leave the King behind, and hasten to the help of Arran. The bridge which spans the Avon at Linlithgow-Bridge was taken possession of by the troops of Arran, which were drawn up in battle array on the east bank of the river. Lennox was therefore compelled to cross the Avon a little further south-west, opposite the Manuel nunnery. Although his soldiers were exposed to a heavy fire, they made good their passage over the river, and were about to engage in a hand-to-hand fight, when the battle-cry, "Douglas," was raised, Angus having just arrived. The soldiers of Lennox were greatly discouraged on observing this increase to the ranks of their enemies. A panic immediately followed; they gave way on all sides; and Lennox with many of his army, including several men of rank, were slain. It is said that the Earl of Lennox had surrendered himself to the Laird of Pardovan, and that Sir James Hamilton cruelly slew him after he had thus surrendered.

While the battle was proceeding, the King was still slowly making his way towards Linlithgow. When at Corstorphine, where the sound of artillery was distinctly heard, Sir George Douglas, perceiving the King's reluctance to proceed, became very angry, and told His Majesty that, should they on the other side get hold of him, he would be torn in pieces between the two parties. The

victorious army spent the night in Linlithgow with great rejoicing, but the King was sorely dejected because of the death of Lennox, whom he held in high esteem. This battle of Linlithgow-Bridge was fought in September, 1526.

A sword, at present in the possession of the Town Council, was found some years ago in the vicinity of the battlefield, and is supposed to have been the one used by the Earl of Lennox.

The Queen-Dowager and Beaton were meanwhile at Stirling, awaiting the result of the engagement with anxiety, and, on the announcement of the defeat of their party, they fled. Beaton, for about three months, disguised in the habit of a shepherd, tended a flock of sheep. He and the Earl of Angus, however, were soon reconciled, after which he turned his attention in another direction to work most congenial to his persecuting nature in putting to death the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Archbishop's first victim was a young gentleman, said to have been a native of Kingscavil, about a mile and a half east from Linlithgow. His name was Patrick Hamilton, who was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton and Catherine Stuart, daughter of the Duke of Albany, son of James the Second. At this time religion and morals had sunk to a very low ebb in Scotland. M'Crie, in his "Life of John Knox," says that "the corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally debased, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church. Superstition and religious imposture in their grossest forms gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. . . The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy, and the greater

part of this was in the hands of a few of their number, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and Abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours; they were Privy Councillors and Lords of Session as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of State. There was not such a thing known as for a Bishop to preach." The historian further states that "the lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. . . The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even Bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals." Such was the state of religion and morality in the Church in Scotland, when the godly Patrick Hamilton commenced his evangelistic labours among his countrymen.

In 1527, after studying, first at St. Andrews and afterwards in Germany, he began publicly to address the people, earnestly promulgating the doctrine of Justification by faith in the Atoning work of the Lord Jesus. His enthusiasm attracted large crowds of hearers, and through his instrumentality the darkness of superstition began to vanish. Many were converted to God, and rejoiced in the liberty and peace of the glorious Gospel. Hamilton's career of usefulness was, however, of short duration, as Archbishop Beaton and his confederates considered his doctrines vile

Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.

heresies, and ordered his arrest. He was apprehended under cover of night, and confined in the castle of St. Andrews. On the following day the young preacher was arraigned before the Archbishop and a convention of about fifteen other Churchmen. He was charged with propagating heretical opinions, such as "that a man is not justified by works but by faith only, and that good works make not a good man, but that a good man doth good works." He was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and was burned on the afternoon of the same day, the reason assigned for his hasty execution being lest King James V. should quash the sentence of death. In the midst of his sufferings the martyr manifested great courage, which made a deep impression on those present. His last words were, "How long, O God, shall darkness cover this kingdom? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Thus perished this noble young man on the last day of February, 1528, being only, as some affirm, about 24 years of age.

The truth of the proverbial saying, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, was strikingly verified in the death of Patrick Hamilton. It is affirmed that a priest, named Aless, who had witnessed his fortitude, was so impressed by the steadfastness of the martyr that he himself thereafter adopted the Reformed Faith, and confessed his belief that the cause for which Hamilton died was the Truth of God. Because of this confession, Aless also suffered martyrdom.

James Hamilton, brother of the martyr, and Sheriff of Linlithgow, also renounced the Popish Faith. He

declined to accept the doctrine regarding Purgatory, and acknowledged that he prayed in the vulgar tongue and that he despised the preaching of the priests, for which, and also for declaring that his brother Patrick died a good Christian, he was apprehended and brought to trial. The King, who was present, seems to have had a special regard for the Sheriff, and, taking him aside, told him to depart, as the Bishops were opposed to him, and that, if he appeared before them again, he would not be able to help him. Hamilton departed at the warning of the King, but his property was confiscated and his office given to another. About thirty years after, he was, however, restored to his former dignity, the reformed faith having in the meantime gained the ascendancy.

Persecution of the Sheriff of Linlithgow.

Catherine Hamilton, sister of the afore-mentioned brothers, was also summoned to appear on a charge of heresy. The charge brought against her was that she had said that her own works could not save her. She admitted the same to be true, and added, in the presence of the King and Judges, "Work here or work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of work can save me, but the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." The King was amused at these words, and Foxe says he (the King) caused Catherine Hamilton to recant, and that by so doing she escaped.

About the same time Henry Forrest, a native of Linlithgow, also fell a victim to the cruelty of Beaton. He was at one time a priest, but was converted on hearing the Gospel preached. He had stated in private that

Patrick Hamilton had died a good Christian, and that the doctrines which the martyrs had preached were according to the Word of God. On this account he was condemned, the Archbishop maintaining that Forrest was equal with Patrick Hamilton in heresy, and deserved to die. He was accordingly burned at St. Andrews in 1534.

Martyrdom of Henry Forrest.

Although James V. exercised his Royal prerogative on behalf of his relatives, members of Sir Patrick Hamilton's family, in protecting them from the malice of Beaton, it is nevertheless apparent that he acted as a willing tool in the hands of the Bishops against those suspected of heresy. For such service to the Romish Church in opposing the Reformation, he secured special favour at the hands of Pope Paul III., who presented him with the sword of State, which still forms part of the Scottish regalia. The King reciprocated the honour by causing a statue of the Pope to be placed in a niche over the entrance of Linlithgow Palace. The effect of the Pope's favour appears to have inspired James with still greater zeal in persecuting those who differed from the faith of Rome, for shortly thereafter the King declared that he would spare none who were suspected of heresy, although they should be his own sons. The threat thus rashly expressed had no time allowed in which to be carried into execution, before his two sons died, both on the same day.

James V. and Pope Paul III.

In 1534 the King's popularity had extended beyond the limits of his own kingdom, and several of the European monarchs appear to have combined to do him honour.

Honours to King James.

By the King of England he was made Knight of the Garter; by the Emperor of Germany, Knight of the Golden Fleece; and by the French King he was created Knight of the Order of St. Michael. To commemorate those special marks of respect shown to him, James ordered the arms of Scotland, adorned with those insignia of honour, to be placed over the gateway leading to the Palace of Linlithgow. These memorials lasted for upwards of 300 years, until, becoming defaced through age, they were replaced about 45 years ago by the present tablets.

The Palace, as has already been said, was a favourite residence of the Sovereigns of Scotland. It was especially admired by King James V. and his second Queen, Mary of Guise; so much so, indeed, that when he brought her to Linlithgow she expressed her delight by saying that she had never seen a more princely Palace. The Queen's estimate coincides with Sir David Lyndsay's opinion, expressed by Sir Walter Scott in the following lines:—

"Of all the Palaces so fair,
Built for the Royal dwelling,
In Scotland, far beyond compare,
Linlithgow is excelling."

Although it cannot be accurately ascertained when, or by whom, the entire Palace was built, there can be no doubt whatever that several of the Jameses spent large sums of money in building different parts of it, and that James the Sixth had the honour of completing it in the year 1620.

James the Fifth, on the occasion of his marriage in 1538, gave what was then considered a grand entertainment. A large and fashionable company were invited to witness the performance of Sir David Lyndsay's "Satire of the Three Estates," which took place in the Palace grounds. Among those present were their Majesties the King and Queen, the ladies of the Court, the nobles, bishops, and many other distinguished persons.

The drama was a long one, and required a whole day to complete its performance. In the play the virtues were personified, and individuals in character, representing the various classes in the community, occupied their respective positions, amongst whom were the bishop, abbot, parson, and pardoner. The friar appeared as flattery in disguise, and the doctor, as preacher, delivered a sermon from the text, "If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments." The proceedings opened with a speech by Diligence, who appeared as a messenger from King Humanity, for the purpose of executing judgment on evil doers. At the conclusion of the performance the King addressed his Chancellor, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the other Bishops present, exhorting them to reform their lives, and threatening that unless they did so he would send a number of them to his uncle Henry, King of England.

Performance in the Palace Grounds.

The advice given by James was certainly good, and much required in those days, but the King was not the person from whom such an admonition ought to have come, for he and some of his associates were licentious in their habits. The whole performance on that occasion was quite in keeping with the general state of matters at Court, and was, moreover, a piece of solemn mockery.

Prior to the year 1540 no Provost had been appointed to preside over the municipal affairs of the Burgh, but in that year James V. granted a charter, by which the Council were empowered to appoint one of their number to that office, the first person elected being of the same name as the martyr of 1534—Henry Forrest. Although Linlithgow had been a Royal Burgh for upwards of 400 years, it is remarkable that it should have continued so long without having the power to elect a Provost. What makes it still more remarkable is the fact that the Town Council of Linlithgow was one of the largest in the country, there being only three other Burghs which had a larger number of Town Councillors. The number of members in the Linlithgow Town Council then was twenty-seven, but in the month of November, 1852, they were reduced to the present number—15.

Institution of Provostship.

James, though but a young man, had acquired an unenviable notoriety. Many of his actions had alienated not a few of those who otherwise would have proved constant friends, and had brought upon himself great distress of mind. Frequently he was overwhelmed with fear at the recollection of actions for which he had been threatened with summary vengeance, and in consequence his sleep was often, by dreams, greatly disturbed. On one occasion, while residing at the Palace, about midnight he leaped out of bed, called for the servants and demanded that they all should bring lights, for, as stated by himself, he had dreamed that a visitor from the other world was present, and that with a naked sword to execute judgment upon him. It was upon the following day that both his sons died.

Sir James Hamilton of Avondale was Master of Works to James V., and superintended the additions made by the King to the Palace of Linlithgow and Blackness Castle. He was held in great esteem by his Sovereign, who in 1528 bestowed on him all the lands originally belonging to the Religious Fraternity at St. Magdalen's.

King's Master of Works.

Hamilton took a prominent part in persecuting the reformers, and used his influence to encompass the death of his relative, Patrick Hamilton. When the bishops required an agent to carry out their cruel devices, they found Sir James a willing and suitable instrument. But Hamilton's career was brought to a sudden and ignominious termination by the discovery in 1540 of a conspiracy which had been formed against the King twelve years previously. When investigation was made it was discovered that the King's Master of Works was deeply implicated. He was brought to trial on a charge of treason, found guilty, and beheaded.

Another of the King's favourites belonged to Carribber, about two miles south-west from Linlithgow. He was named Robert Gibb, and was married to the mother of Lord James Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V. A stone taken from Gibb's Castle of Carribber was built into the western gable of a house situated on the road between Linlithgow and Torphichen, where it may still be seen. It bears a representation of the Royal coat of arms, which consists of a crown set on a head, a lion on either side, and one underneath, two battle-axes, a sword, chain, and other significant emblems.

Rob Gibb of Carribber.

Gibb occupied a rather peculiar position in the Royal household. He appears to have been the King's buffoon. An instance of this may here be given. The King on one occasion exalted him to a place of honour by seating him in his own Royal chair. The nobles and others meanwhile were called upon to do honour to King Rob, when the mushroom King addressed the courtiers thus:—"Get ye hence, ye covetous, selfish loons, and bring to me my own dear and trusty servant, Rob Gibb, that I may honour him, the only one of my Court that serves me for stark love and kindness." There is no doubt but that these words of Gibb were intended to convey a stinging reproof to many of those nobles whose motives in serving the King seem to have been the advancement of their selfish interests rather than loyalty to their Royal master.

The morality of the Court of James V. seems to have been the opposite of elevating, and had sunk to a very low ebb. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that immorality for a long series of years had been openly countenanced by prominent clerical officials. Several of the "celibate" bishops had large families with whom many of the nobles were united in marriage, because of the rich dowries their wives brought with them. The Linlithgow clergy's opinion was exceedingly lax as to the binding nature of the decalogue, and appears to have been quite in keeping with the example of the bishops referred to. This is manifest from the following excerpt from the old "Chaplain's Bond," dated 1455, and subscribed by the Linlithgow priesthood (and particularly by Patrick Brone, priest of St. Michael's) on their acceptance of office:—"I sal govern my person in honeste,

Immorality of the Clergy.

and be of honest conversation in meat and drink, lying and rising, and I sal not use unreasonable excess nor continual concubine." (About that time there were between twelve and fifteen officiating priests in St. Michael's Church.) It is almost incredible that such a disgraceful state of matters should have existed in connection with religion. It is nevertheless deplorable that the immorality indicated by the extract just quoted should have been sanctioned by the ecclesiastical executive in the Burgh.

CHAPTER IV.

QUEEN MARY BORN IN LINLITHGOW PALACE—CARDINAL BEATON IMPRISONED IN BLACKNESS CASTLE—MARY'S REMOVAL TO STIRLING—ROMISH SYNOD HELD IN THE TOWN—NINIAN WINZET, BURGH SCHOOL-MASTER—REGENT MORAY'S ASSASSINATION—THE REBELLIOUS LINLITHGOW LORDS—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT PREVENTED BY REGENT LENNOX.

THE birth of Mary Queen of Scots took place in Linlithgow Palace on the 7th December, 1542. The circumstances connected with that important event were extremely painful. Her father, King James V., had completed arrangements for an invasion of England. Ten thousand men were on the march when he was disgracefully betrayed by the nobles who were dissatisfied because the command of the army had been intrusted to Oliver Sinclair. Disorder in consequence prevailed amongst the troops, and while the Scottish army was thus disorganised, a body of 300 English horsemen unexpectedly came in sight. The English, seeing the confused state of the Scots, resolved to make an immediate attack. The suddenness of the onslaught produced a panic in the ranks of Sinclair, and the Scottish army was completely routed. Many were slain, and several hundreds taken prisoners, while not a few of the nobles willingly surrendered to the

enemy. When King James heard of the treacherous conduct of his barons, and the ignominious retreat of his army, he became very wroth, then sank into despair, and continued to exclaim, "O! fled Oliver; is Oliver ta'en?"

Her Majesty was then residing in Linlithgow Palace, near her confinement, but, instead of visiting his Queen, the King passed from Lochmaben (where he had been at the time of the disastrous engagement) to place after place, until he arrived at Falkland Palace, greatly dejected. He secluded himself in one of the rooms of the Palace, being now and again heard to ejaculate, "Fy! Fled is Oliver? Is Oliver ta'en? All is lost." The defeat of the Scottish troops at Solway Moss had broken the heart of the King. While James was thus mourning over his misfortunes, a messenger arrived from Linlithgow announcing the accouchement of the Queen. The King inquired whether it were "man or woman born," and when informed that it was a fair daughter, he despairingly rejoined, "Farewell! it cam' wi' a lass, and it will gang wi' a lass." Soon thereafter the broken-hearted monarch died. It is said the infant sovereign, Queen Mary, was baptised in St. Michael's Church, the font in the south wall of the Church being used for the occasion.

Birth of Queen Mary.

Immediately after the death of James V. the Popish nobles in conjunction with Cardinal Beaton, the nephew and successor of the Archbishop of the same name, resolved to make strenuous efforts to obtain, if possible, possession of the person of the young Queen, who, with her mother, was still at Linlithgow. The Cardinal and his party were determined to frustrate the designs of the King of

England regarding his project to unite the two kingdoms by the marriage of his son, the Prince of Wales, to the young Queen of Scots. The Regent, the Earl of Arran, and the Protestant nobles who favoured the proposition of Henry, ordered the arrest of Beaton, he being the principal agitator, and the person of greatest influence. He was sent a prisoner to Blackness Castle, but soon made his escape, and commenced at once to organise his forces. In a short time 10,000 men under his partisan Barons arrived in Edinburgh (where they were reinforced) on their way to Linlithgow to carry out their purpose of abducting the infant Queen. The increasing power of the Cardinal meanwhile caused great annoyance to the Regent, who, in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute, proposed that a conference should be held, composed of persons belonging to the different factions. This conference was held at Kirkliston, when it was decided that Mary should be committed to the custody of four neutral Barons, and that she should be removed from Linlithgow to Stirling; which was accordingly done.

Beaton confined in Blackness Castle.

King Henry meanwhile was much exercised concerning the important negotiations then taking place, as his subjoined letter to his representative—Sadler—manifestly indicates:—"Our pleasure is, that if the matter grow to such a garboil and extremity, as the young Queen shall be removed from Linlithgow, you shall do what you can by all good means and persuasion, both with the governor, the Earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas, to get her removed to Temptallon (Tantallon); but whether that shall be granted or no, you shall travail, that the old Queen may be secluded from her,

Henry's Letter to Sadler.

and left at Linlithgow, or where it shall please her; which the governor may, and has good cause to do, seeing this conspiracy for her surprise could not be made but by her consent."

Notwithstanding the apparent agreement between the parties concerning Mary's removal, it is evident that the Cardinal's party were fully aware of the insecurity of their position; for on the assembling of Parliament they passed an Act granting an indemnity in favour of all those that had taken part in the removal of the young Sovereign from Linlithgow.

Through the influence of the faithful and intrepid reformer, John Knox, who denounced the corrupt practices and immoral lives of both courtiers and clergy, Scotland was at this time awakened to the necessity for a radical reformation both in doctrine and morals. In these circumstances the clergy began to bestir themselves, and zealously set about the reforming of certain abuses, with the object in view of preventing further defections from the Romish faith. A meeting was held in Linlithgow in 1555. At this Council or Synod it was resolved that a Catechism should be published dealing with the prevalent irregularities, and setting forth in detail several of the principal dogmas of the Church of Rome. This pamphlet was ordered to be read on certain occasions during Church service; but the zeal thus manifested by the Council was partially neutralised by their precautions to prevent its reaching the hands of the common people. The same Synod further condemned all the doctrines of the Reformed Faith, and declared that all who countenanced them were deserving of the punishment

Romish Council held at Linlithgow.

due to heretics. At the same time the decrees of the Council of Trent held in 1545 were adopted. Although other special Acts were passed by this Synod, little good, in the opinion of Archbishop Spottiswood, was accomplished, because the persons appointed to carry out the reforms were frequently the greatest offenders. Another historian, however, states that good resulted from the resolutions then adopted.

During Mary's minority, and while she resided in France, her mother, the Queen-Dowager, was appointed to the Regency on the retiral of the Earl of Arran from that office. The Dowager possessed great abilities, but her constant intrigues with her Roman Catholic relatives at the French Court ultimately brought about her deposition. Strong indignation against the Regent was aroused amongst the Reformers on the discovery of a plot arranged by her and her uncle, the Duke of Guise, to garrison Stirling Castle with French soldiers. The Lords of the congregation were exasperated at such treachery, and Knox, who had recently returned to Scotland, unsparingly condemned the Regent's conduct. His denunciations, coupled with the influence of the Lords of the congregation, created strong suspicions among the people as to the designs of the Queen-mother, and, as a consequence, violent measures were adopted for the abolition of Popish institutions.

Destruction of Property.

Monasteries, images, &c., were destroyed. These immoderate attacks originated in Perth, where John Knox then was, and where the inhabitants demolished the monasteries, and broke in pieces the images. Having thus completed their work of destruction at Perth, three hundred of them de-

parted thence to Stirling, headed by the Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stuart, and John Knox. According to Spottiswood, they there for two days followed the same destructive course, and, proceeding on their journey, came to Linlithgow, where they destroyed the monasteries and all the images except one, which was beyond their reach. On this approach of Argyle and his party in 1559, the Queen-Dowager fled from Linlithgow, where she had been residing, and escaped to Dunbar.

At this time there lived in the Burgh a person of some importance in the Romish Church, named Ninian Winzet. He was teacher in the Burgh School from 1551 till 1561, and was a man of considerable ability. He wrote several tracts in defence of the Romish faith in opposition to the views promulgated by Knox, but his zeal on behalf of Roman Catholicism was looked upon with disfavour by the newly-ordained minister of St. Michael's, the Rev. Patrick Kinloquhy or Kinloch. Kinloch was the first Protestant minister of Linlithgow after the Reformation, and had previously been a canon of the Augustan Monastery of St. Andrews. Notwithstanding the persistent opposition of the new incumbent and his coadjutors, Winzet steadfastly maintained his adherence to the Church of Rome, and was accordingly in 1561 deposed from the rectorship of the Burgh School. The evicted teacher felt deeply the circumstances which necessitated his leaving Linlithgow, as he had hoped to finish his days in what he was pleased to designate his "kindly toun." Although much depressed, he still rejoiced that he suffered for conscience sake. He was afterwards compelled to leave the country and flee for refuge

Ninian Winzet, Schoolmaster.

first to Flanders, then to France, Italy, and Germany. In 1576 he was appointed by the Pope Abbot of the Scottish Monastery at Ratisbon, and had conferred upon him the degree of D.D. He was a voluminous writer, and from his works it is evident that he was a person of sheer honesty of purpose. He denounced what he considered wrong, irrespective of party or church, not only opposing the doctrinal teaching of the Reformers, but also condemning the moral laxity of many of the clergy of his own church. He died in Germany in September, 1592, at the age of 74.

Such men as Winzet, who maintained at great personal loss what they believed to be truth, are worthy of all respect, and ought to be admired even by those who may differ from them on matters of essential importance.

Queen Mary not unfrequently visited Linlithgow, and on several occasions spent some time in the Palace. One of these visits indirectly but vividly brings into view one of the darkest scenes in the career of the unfortunate Queen. Her son, afterwards James VI., was, with his guardians, residing in Stirling, whither Mary had gone to visit him. On her return journey she was met near Linlithgow, according to Maitland, by the Earl of Bothwell with a company of eight hundred horsemen. He it was who but a few weeks previously had superintended the assassination of Darnley, the Queen's husband. When the Royal party was met by Bothwell, Her Majesty's attendants were taken prisoners, while Mary herself willingly permitted the unprincipled Earl to take her in charge. He conducted

Mary and Bothwell meet at Linlithgow.

her to his own Castle at Dunbar, and was shortly thereafter married to her in Holyrood Palace.

A few weeks after her foolish marriage with Bothwell, Mary was compelled to abdicate the throne, and her half-brother, the Earl of Moray, was appointed to the Regency. His occupancy of that office was of short duration, lasting only about two years and a half. He gave every promise of proving a most efficient ruler, but the country was robbed of his services by his tragic death, which occurred in Linlithgow in January, 1570. The Regent was making a tour through the kingdom, and was being received with every mark of cordiality. As he journeyed from town to town, the acclamations of welcome were such as to inspire him with perfect confidence in the people. But amid the crowd which followed him there were not wanting a few who waited and watched their opportunity to deprive the nation of Moray's valuable services by taking his life. Among the latter was the Hamilton family, one of whom, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, laid wait for him on several occasions, but failed to accomplish his purpose. The Regent was about to visit Linlithgow, where Hamilton hoped to execute summary vengeance on him. The assassin's uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was proprietor of a house in the town, situated about fifty yards east from the Dog Well Wynd, in which he concealed himself. He had carefully barricaded the door and made a hole in the wall, through which he might take aim. To prevent his footsteps being heard, a feather bed had been spread on the floor, and thus having completed his arrange-

Regent Moray Assassinated at Linlithgow.

ments, Hamilton awaited the approach of the Regent, who, although warned by his friends of his danger, failed to adopt the requisite precautions. He trusted to the fleetness of his horse, but owing to the narrowness of the street at that part of the town, and because of the dense crowd, progress could be made only with great difficulty. The assassin had therefore an opportunity of taking deliberate aim, and having fired, the ball passing through the Regent's body, killed the horse of an attendant who rode on the other side of him. At first it was thought that the wound would not prove fatal, as the Earl leaped from his horse and walked to the Palace. Serious symptoms, however, soon appeared, and caused great alarm to his friends around him. "The good Regent," as he has sometimes been called, feeling his end drawing near, committed the young King to the charge of trusted friends, and in the evening of the same day died. His death was deeply mourned by the nation in general, while a small minority exulted over the brutal deed.

Hamilton meanwhile had made good his escape on a swift horse, which had been kept in readiness at the back of the town. He fled first to Hamilton Palace, where he was received in triumph by his party, and from thence he escaped to France. The Regent's remains were conveyed from Linlithgow to Stirling, and from there to Edinburgh, where they were buried. His funeral was attended by great numbers of the citizens of Edinburgh, including the Magistrates.

The untimely death of the Earl of Moray proved a most calamitous event for Scotland, as the scourge of civil war was soon experienced in different parts of the

land. The people were divided. The one portion supported the claims of the captive Queen, the other those of the young King. The Roman Catholics generally were sympathisers with Mary, while the Protestants favoured the claims of her son James. The former party were sanguine in their hopes regarding Mary's deliverance from captivity and her restoration to the throne of Scotland; the latter were convinced that the Reformed Faith had sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the Regent, who had been a mighty power in securing freedom from the thraldom of Romish superstition, and that the Royal captive's reinstatement to supreme power would thwart the cause for which they had so strenuously contended.

In these circumstances both parties prepared for action. The Hamiltons, assisted by the greater number of the nobles, lost no time in setting forth the claims of Queen Mary, who was detained in England as a prisoner, by Queen Elizabeth. These Popish nobles chose Linlithgow as their meeting-place, and accordingly met in the Burgh in April, 1570. After having held several conferences here, it was formally resolved to issue a proclamation in the name of Queen Mary, summoning Parliament to meet in Linlithgow in the month of August. The object aimed at by these nobles—designated by Calderwood the "rebellious Linlithgow Lords"—was threefold:—(1) The alienation of the Scots from the English; (2) the deliverance of Mary from captivity, and her restoration to the throne; (3) the extirpation of the Reformed Faith in Scotland, and the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism in its room. The supporters of the

Meetings of the Linlithgow Lords.

King held their meetings in Edinburgh, and, for the sake of convenience and in contradistinction to the Linlithgow Lords, may be called the Edinburgh Lords. They issued a proclamation denouncing the Linlithgow Lords, whom they charged with the murder of the King's father, and also that of the late Regent. The proclamation set forth that the object of the rebellious Lords was to cover their own fiendish devices connected with those tragedies. All heralds, messengers, and other officers were charged to make said proclamation at each market cross in the kingdom under pain of death. The Edinburgh Lords informed the Queen of England of the serious circumstances affecting the King's interest, and urgently solicited her assistance to enable them to suppress the rebellion. In the meantime the Linlithgow Lords were far from being idle. Messages were dispatched both to France and Spain, earnestly praying for help.

Elizabeth was glad of the opportunity thus afforded her of rendering assistance for the furtherance of the King's cause, and, at the same time, of suppressing the rising in favour of Mary, whom she suspected of having evil designs regarding herself. Moreover, Elizabeth was deeply interested in the deliberations then taking place in Linlithgow, forasmuch as two of her own nobles, who had, because of their treasonable actions, fled from England, and had joined company with the rebellious Lords in the ancient Burgh. Doubtless it was for the purpose of arresting these two Earls (Westmoreland and Northumberland), as much as to assist the Scots, that the English Queen so promptly gave orders that a thousand foot, and four hundred horse, should be dispatched to Scotland to strengthen the forces at the command of the Earl of Lennox, the new Regent, against the combined armies of the Linlithgow Lords. When intelligence reached the rebellious Lords that an English contingent was on the march for Scotland, they were much alarmed, and separated in order to attend to their own personal interests. On the arrival of the English force the King's faction at once began to inflict severe penalties on the principal agitators of the Queen's party. The Duke of Chatelherault, the chief of the Hamilton family, was specially selected as an object of vengeance. His Palace at Hamilton was set on fire, while his residence in Linlithgow and mansion-house at Kinneil were plundered and laid in ruins. Besides these, several other residences in Linlithgow were destroyed, including those of Lords Fleming and Livingstone.

The Regent, the Earl of Lennox, having thus deprived some of the insurgent Lords of their mansion-houses, proceeded to follow up the advantages which he had gained over the partisans of Mary, by issuing a proclamation to the King's lieges, commanding them to assemble in Linlithgow with provisions for twenty days. His object was to prevent the meeting of Parliament from taking place, which the Popish Lords had summoned for August. Before the day on which Parliament was to have met, Lennox, accompanied by several thousands, arrived in the Burgh, but none of the Linlithgow Lords put in an appearance. No attempt, therefore, was made to hold the meeting of Parliament, from which the Queen's party confidently expected measures which would

Regent prevents Parliament from Meeting in the Burgh.

prove effective in bringing about a revolution affecting both Church and State.

The bitter feeling engendered between the rival parties continued for many years, especially against the Hamilton family. As an instance of this it may be here stated that eight years after those events just related had taken place, the Duchess of Hamilton and her son, the Earl of Arran, were brought as prisoners to Linlithgow, where they were kept in confinement for some time.

CHAPTER V.

THE BLACK ACTS—MINISTERS IMPRISONED IN BLACKNESS CASTLE—THEIR TRIAL AT LINLITHGOW—MEETINGS OF PARLIAMENT AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY—KING JAMES VI. FLEES FROM EDINBURGH TO LINLITHGOW—PERMANENT MODERATORS APPOINTED—WISEMAN, THE SCHOOLMASTER, AND JAMES VI.'S LAST VISIT TO LINLITHGOW.

THE circumstances associated with the accession of James VI. to the throne of Scotland, and with his minority, were altogether unique. His mother, Queen Mary, when he was about thirteen months old, was compelled to abdicate; a continuous rivalry for a long series of years existed amongst the nobility; one Regent after another suffered death at the hands of the assassin; and James's mother, the lawful Sovereign of Scotland, was kept a prisoner in Fotheringay Castle, England, and was at last put to death by her relative, Queen Elizabeth. The vicissitudes of his life seem to have fostered in James an inordinate desire for absolute power over his subjects, but that autocracy which he aimed at establishing in Scotland terminated only with the expulsion of his dynasty from the country, when the throne of the United Kingdom was given to another.

In consistency with the King's desire for supremacy, Acts, called the "Black Acts," were passed in 1584, which practically conferred upon the King that which he longed to possess. By these enactments it was declared treason for any person to question any decision of the King and his Council. The Sovereign was thus constituted lord over the consciences of his subjects in matters spiritual and temporal. Hetherington says—"The Lords of the Articles were sworn to secrecy, and the meetings of the Parliament which passed those Acts were held with closed doors." Notwithstanding the secrecy thus exercised at the passing of those obnoxious Acts, the Presbyterians discovered that Parliament was engaged framing measures by which the liberties of worship would be greatly curtailed. The ministers, having received such information, deputed the Rev. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, to wait on His Majesty to make humble requisition that nothing should be done by Parliament prejudicial to the interests of the Church. But as the minister of Leith was about to enter the Palace gate he was apprehended and sent a prisoner to Blackness Castle, where he remained for nearly a year. By the Black Acts James thought to apply the axe to Presbytery, and thereby cut it entirely away. Many of the ministers remonstrated and protested against any encroachment on their liberties. They demanded that an opportunity should be given for the consideration of the Scriptural basis of the Presbyterian form of worship. The King, although unwilling to comply with this demand, at last reluctantly consented to summon a meeting of Parliament to be held at Linlithgow in the month of December, 1585. About the same

Black Acts.

time a special meeting of the Supreme Court of the Church was convened for the purpose of considering the whole question relating to the curtailment of the liberties of the Presbyterians by the Black Acts. The Assembly was to have met in Dunfermline, but when the deputies arrived they found the gates closed against them by order of the King. The members were therefore under the necessity of holding a conference in the fields, where, after consultation, it was agreed to adjourn to Linlithgow. The Assembly accordingly met in the latter town, but found the King determined to carry out the Acts recently passed, which made him lord over the consciences of every person in the kingdom.

Parliament and Assembly Meet in Linlithgow.

James was emboldened to persevere in his resistance to, and oppression of, the ministers of the Presbyterian Church by the arguments adduced in his behalf by one of their own number, named Craig. He had been appointed to preach before the members of Parliament on their coming to Linlithgow, and in his sermon severely condemned some of the protesting ministers, although he himself had signed the protest and had also induced others to do the same. He then proceeded, in a most undue manner, to magnify the prerogative of Kings, and maintained that it was the duty of subjects to submit to their respective Kings, however wicked their enactments might be, or however oppressive their tyranny. Such unprincipled ministers as the renegade Craig admirably suited the purpose of James, and it is unnecessary to say that the Presbyterians received almost no redress from Parliament, and about as little from the Assembly. While the ministers were assembled in the Burgh on that occa-

sion, the King's conceit was manifested in an exceptional manner by the challenge addressed by him to any member of the Assembly to a discussion on the subject of his absolute supremacy. He affirmed that he would maintain his principles by arguments drawn from all sources, but this presumptuous challenge was not considered worthy of serious attention. It may be here stated that the only apparent favour then granted by the King was the restoration to their former position of those ministers who had lately been deprived of their office and living.

Towards the end of 1592, Scotland was thrown into a state of unprecedented excitement, occasioned by the treasonable intrigues of a section of the Popish nobility. The Rev. Andrew Knox, of Paisley, had received secret information respecting a correspondence which was then being carried on between several priests and nobles in Scotland and a Jesuit in Spain. Mr Knox, accompanied by a number of students from Glasgow, hastened to the Island of Cumbrae in search of George Kerr, brother of Lord Newbattle, and bearer of certain letters of paramount importance from the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol to William Crighton, a priest in Spain. The purport of these letters was that the King of Spain was to land 30,000 men on the West Coast of Scotland, there to be joined by the combined forces of those three nobles. Part of the Spanish force was designed for the invasion of England, while the remainder was expected to suppress Protestantism in Scotland, and re-establish Popery. Kerr was arrested on board a vessel bound for Spain, and cast into prison. The Protestants made urgent representations to the King as to the necessity of adopting

immediate and stringent measures to bring the traitors to justice; yet it seems strange that, while James appeared enraged at the conduct of the guilty barons, he hesitated to bring them to trial. The hesitancy of the King was at length, however, overcome by the importunate entreaty of the Presbyterians, and the Estates of the Realm were summoned to meet in Linlithgow in November, 1593, to deliberate on the treasonable conduct of the afore-mentioned Earls. A Committee of the Estates was appointed to make investigation into the charges preferred against Huntly, Angus, and Errol. The finding and decision of this committee was to have all the legal authority of an Act of Parliament, and was afterwards called the "Act of Abolition." By that Act the Popish Lords were allowed a few weeks to choose between the alternatives of leaving the country and the renunciation of the Romish faith. Instead of doing either, they continued their treasonable plotting with their friends in Spain, until at last they were banished from Scotland.

Meeting of the Estates of the Realm at Linlithgow.

In little more than two years the King extended his royal clemency to the banished lords, but their return to Scotland stirred up once more the smouldering embers of party strife. Their recall was denounced in unmeasured terms by more than one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and was productive of widespread discontent, which terminated in a serious riot in the capital. The citizens, owing to some sensational rumour, turned out in a body. A multitude ran to the Tolbooth, where the King and his Privy Council were engaged in the transaction of important business, and demanded that the traitor lords should

be delivered into their hands. The King was in great terror, and, thinking his life in danger, called for the Magistrates, who, when they had come, expressed deep regret at the disloyalty of the mob, and conducted him to Holyrood Palace. But His Majesty, not feeling satisfied as to his personal safety, resolved to leave the city at once. Row says that "after he had taken a drink of water he rode forthwith to Linlithgow." As soon as James and his Court reached "his faithful toun" he issued a proclamation, which was commanded to be read by a herald at the market cross of Edinburgh on the following day. The said proclamation set forth that the King could no longer consider the capital a suitable place of residence for himself and his Court. The Lords of Session, the Sheriff and other judges, were prohibited, under pain of death, from holding any Court whatever in Edinburgh. All other persons, not residents, were likewise ordered to leave the city within six hours, under pain of His Majesty's displeasure.

King's Flight from Edinburgh to Linlithgow.

This proclamation, issued to the people of Edinburgh from Linlithgow Palace, produced the desired effect. The Magistrates and citizens in general were in utter dismay, because the King had resolved to transfer the different courts formerly held in Edinburgh to Linlithgow, or such other town which should be considered most suitable for the conduct of court business, as they believed that owing to the removal of the King and his Court, the city would be absolutely ruined in its commercial interests. The Magistrates, in consequence, forwarded to the King at Linlithgow, a most humble apology, which James treated with apparent disdain, being most indignant at the affront

offered to his person and authority. He allowed two full weeks to elapse before he gave any indication of his intention to return to Edinburgh, and on the advice of his councillors, the Magistrates were called upon to render an account of their conduct during the late tumult. Accordingly the Provost, four Bailies, and a number of the Town Councillors appeared before His Majesty on his return to the city, and, falling upon their knees, made a most abject apology. In this humiliating position they surrendered (in order to pacify the king) every right they possessed, whether civil or ecclesiastical. This doubtless would be most acceptable to James, seeing that his constant aim had ever been, and still continued to be, the exercise of unlimited control over the consciences and lives of his subjects. Edinburgh was then deprived of the right to elect either its magistrates or its ministers, and a fine of 20,000 merks was at the same time imposed on the city.

There seems to be amongst historians a consensus of opinion regarding the tyrannical conduct of James VI., as manifested in Linlithgow in the year 1606, when at his instigation six ministers were accused of treason. [Compare, amongst others, Calderwood, Hetherington, M'Crie, Row, Spottiswood, and Taylor.] The General Assembly, which met in Aberdeen in 1605, requested the King's Commissioner to appoint a day for the next meeting of Assembly. This he positively declined to do, and in the King's name dismissed the Assembly. The ministers, however, were not prepared to give up their legal right, and accordingly themselves appointed the day on which they should next meet. This authority they possessed in

virtue of an unrepealed Act of Parliament, by which it had been ordained that a meeting of the General Assembly should be held annually, the time and place to be appointed by the King or his Commissioner. Failing either of them to appoint it, it fell then to the Assembly itself to name the time and place, so that the Church did nothing more than what by law it was authorized to do, not to speak of the prerogative derived from its King and Head. When James heard of the independent action of the Assembly at Aberdeen, he became very angry, and sent immediate instructions to his Council to proceed against those ministers who had dared without his authority to act as they had done. Fourteen of them were apprehended and lodged in prison, and, when asked to plead, they boldly replied that if they had committed an offence, it was not before the Council, but at the bar of an ecclesiastical court that they ought to be arraigned. For thus refusing to acknowledge the authority of the King and his Privy Council, they were again committed to prison, there to await their trial on a charge of treason. Six of them were confined in the Castle of Blackness, viz.:—John Forbes, minister of Alford, and Moderator of the Assembly; John Welsh, of Ayr; Robert Durie, of Anstruther; Andrew Duncan, of Crail; John Sharp, of Kilmany; and Alexander Strachan, of Criegh. After being imprisoned for some time there, these six ministers were brought for trial to Linlithgow, where the High Court of Justiciary was then sitting. They were conducted first to the Palace, where the Earl of Linlithgow then resided, and where his Countess had prepared for them a welcome reception, she having invited a large

Ministers Imprisoned in Blackness Castle.

number of their Presbyterian brethren to meet them. The Countess had formerly been a zealous Papist, but had recently been converted, and was now an ardent supporter of the Reformers.

On the assembling of the Court, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Hope, the church procurator, assisted by Mr. Thomas Gray, appeared as advocate on behalf of the accused. Before the case on its merits was considered, a discussion of several hours' duration took place between the advocates as to the relevancy of the indictment. Calderwood says that Hope's pleading that day procured him great estimation and many clients, and his credit continued to grow until he became Lord Advocate. The question of relevancy having been disposed of, the Earl of Dunbar, who had been dispatched by his Majesty to Linlithgow, proceeded to exert his powerful influence to procure a conviction. Prior to the trial he had stated that he would willingly give £1000 (sterling) to have the matter amicably settled, and had endeavoured to draw a confession from the accused ministers that they had erred, at the same time promising the King's pardon on their acknowledgment of wrong-doing. They were, however, unconscious of having committed any crime, and had therefore nothing to confess. When the King's Commissioner saw that the ministers were steadfast in maintaining their innocence, he resorted to the most detestable devices to secure their condemnation. The judges were bribed, and the jury (which was packed) flattered and threatened. Before the jury retired to consider their verdict they were solemnly addressed by two of the accused—Messrs Forbes and Welsh—who earnestly entreated them to discharge their

Their Trial at Linlithgow.

duty in the sight of God, and not to be swayed by the fear of man. When it was discovered that a verdict of "Not Guilty" was likely to be returned, it was intimated that no harm was intended against the ministers, and the jury were urged to return a verdict of "Guilty" to please the King. Notwithstanding, six of the fifteen jurymen absolutely refused to comply with the demands of the King's Commissioner, and accordingly declared the prisoners innocent. The majority, however, as ordered by the Earl of Dunbar, declared them guilty of treason, and the ministers were sent back to Blackness Castle, there to wait the King's pleasure. After several months' imprisonment they were banished from the country by the express orders of the autocrat, James. The Papists, said he, sought his life, but the ministers his crown, and as he considered his crown of greater importance than his life, the ministers must be punished. When these good men were thus subjected to cruel persecution for righteousness' sake, they greatly rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer in defending and upholding such a noble cause, and their fortitude and faith did not desert them even when about to leave their friends on the shore at Leith, whom they committed into the hands of Him for whose sake they were called upon to suffer.

A favourite maxim of King James was, "No Bishop, no King," and now, when about twenty of the most energetic and uncompromising of the Presbyterian ministers had been removed out of the way, he proceeded to carry out his long-cherished purpose,—viz., the abolition of Presbytery, and the establishment of Prelacy in

its room. He was, however, aware that this could only be brought about by degrees, and accordingly he concealed the real object he had in view when he summoned a special meeting of the General Assembly to be held at Linlithgow in December, 1606, only a few weeks after the banishment of the six ministers. To allay the suspicions and to secure the sympathies of the Presbyterians, the King stated that the purpose for which he had summoned the conference, as he designated this meeting of Assembly, was to suppress Popery, and restore peace to the Church. Letters had been sent by His Majesty to the different Presbyteries in the Church, commanding them to appoint those ministers named by him as deputies to the conference. Instructions had also been given to those ministers, whom the King had reason to believe were most likely to comply with his demands, to attend the Assembly, whether they were commissioned by their respective Presbyteries or not. By the orders of James commissions were also issued to thirty-three noblemen, all of whom were subservient instruments in the hand of the King. From an Assembly thus packed with the nominees of the King nothing favourable to the Presbyterians could be expected, and when the Fathers and Brethren assembled on the 10th December, it was manifest that whatever opposition might be offered to any innovation favourable to the King's purpose, was certain to be overruled. It was not until the third sederunt that the real purpose of James was made known, when it was asserted that great injury was inflicted on the Church by the frequent change of Moderators of Presbyteries, and that Popery

was encouraged thereby. It was therefore proposed, as previously arranged by the King, that permanent Moderators should be appointed for all the Presbyteries. This proposal was all but unanimously adopted, only four dissenting. Thus the crafty King succeeded by intrigue in scoring a victory which proved an important step towards the accomplishment of his favourite design.

Permanent Moderators Appointed at Linlithgow.

The transition from permanent Moderators to Bishops was of easy attainment, and was what James now aimed at. Another meeting of the Supreme Court of the Church was summoned by the King, and met in Linlithgow on the last Tuesday of July, 1608. Once more instructions were communicated to those known to be favourably inclined to measures emanating from the Crown, and this Assembly, like the former, was principally composed of the creatures of the King. Row says that "the godly and wise brethren who stood for the good old order of this kirk, fearing that some great evil should be done at this Assembly, caused pen instructions to be sent to all Presbyteries, whereby the commissioners that should be sent from every Presbytery might be moved to consent to no innovation in this kirk, albeit it should be brought on under never so fair a pretext." He further states that "this Assembly was made up with so many noblemen and barons, who had no commissions from any Presbytery, and with bishops and ministers, who came not clothed with commissions, but upon private advertisements, that honest men feared, not without just

Meeting of Assembly in Linlithgow.

cause, that some evil was to be done." Again the Earl of Dunbar, speaking in behalf of the King, professed great zeal for the Reformed Faith. Again Popery was condemned, and as a proof of the King's desire for its oppression, the three Roman Catholic lords, Huntly, Angus, and Errol, were excommunicated. The last-quoted author, however, considers "that this was the handsomest cloke they could devise." Other matters of an insidious nature, purposely to entrap the Presbyterians, were then brought under consideration, and notwithstanding the plausible reasons advanced in name of the despotic King, there can be no doubt that the real intent for which those Assemblies were convened was the abolition of Presbyterianism in Scotland. These Assemblies practically abolished Presbytery, for the Acts then passed placed the control of Scottish ecclesiastical matters in the hands of the bishops. This state of matters continued for thirty years, when, in 1638, the Assembly held in Glasgow declared all the proceedings of the Linlithgow Assemblies of 1606 and 1608 null and void.

Most probably the last visit paid by James VI. to his "faithful toun" of Linlithgow was in the year 1617. He had been absent from Scotland for fourteen years, and now, in making a tour through the land, he could scarcely do otherwise than visit the burgh in which he had achieved so many victories. On his coming to the town he was met by the Burgh schoolmaster, James Wiseman, who, for the occasion, had provided himself

King James VI. and the Linlithgow Rector.

with a case made of plaster, from within which he thus addressed His Majesty:—

"Thrice Royal Sir, here do I you beseech,
Who art a lion, to hear a lion's speech;
A miracle, for since the days of Æsop,
No lion, till those days, a voice did raise up
To such a Majesty! Thou King of men,
The king of beasts speaks to thee from his den,
Who, though he now enclosed be in plaster,
When he was free, was 'Lithgow's wise schoolmaster,"

Towards the end of the reign of James, in the year 1621, an Act was passed, making the firlot, which had been the standard measure for Linlithgow County for one hundred and twenty years, the standard measure for the whole of Scotland. Linlithgow continued to be the custodier of the firlot, and from it copies were distributed throughout the country.

Linlithgow Firlot, Standard Measure for Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

COURTS TRANSFERRED FROM EDINBURGH TO LINLITHGOW—SOLDIERS AND THEIR FAMILIES DROWNED AT LINLITHGOW-BRIDGE—UNIVERSITY CLASSES TAUGHT IN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH—STRINGENT SABBATH OBSERVANCE—CROMWELL IN THE BURGH—LINLITHGOW REMONSTRANCE—BURNING OF THE COVENANTS—THE PROVOST IMPRISONED—DALZELL OF BINNS.

ON the death of James VI., his only surviving son, Charles, ascended the throne of the United Kingdom, and not only adopted the oppressive policy of his father, but added oppression to oppression. His purpose seems to have been to enforce abject submission to his Sovereign will without permitting his subjects the power of judging between right and wrong. By his severe laws, and by his own obstinacy on the one hand, and vacillation and deception on the other, he stirred up against himself a strong spirit of opposition, which ultimately burst forth in open rebellion, and terminated in his decapitation. Charles appears to have been even more determined than his father to stamp out, root and branch, the Presbyterian form of worship in Scotland. In connection with his efforts to finish this work which his father had begun, the well-known story

concerning Jenny Geddes's throwing the stool at the Dean's head occurred. That incident was the beginning of a serious riot in Edinburgh, on account of which the city was placed under an ecclesiastical interdict. This happened in July, 1637, and in the following October the indignation of the citizens was still further aroused by the express command of the King to the Privy Council to issue a proclamation, ordering the seat of Government and the Law Courts to be removed to Linlithgow.

Privy Council and Court of Session meet in Linlithgow.

In accordance with this proclamation both the Privy Council and the Court of Session shortly thereafter assembled in the Burgh, and were formally constituted in the Palace; but, owing to the fact that the Palace was then out of repair, and because the houses of the town were so mean and uncomfortable, proper accommodation could not be obtained for those whose duties demanded their presence at the courts. Baillie says that, because of these circumstances neither writers nor advocates would attend. The Council wrote to the King informing him of the circumstances, and Charles therefore gave orders for the court to adjourn to Stirling. The Privy Council, however, continued to meet in Linlithgow, and, as instructed by the King, issued a proclamation condemning the disorderly conduct of the citizens of Edinburgh, as manifested during the late disturbance, when, as Charles expressed it, contempt was shown for his Majesty's authority. This proclamation, instead of allaying the suspicions of the Covenanters regarding the designs of Charles on their religious liberties, rather increased them, for the references to religious subjects in said proclamation were vague and disappointing. In consequence

thereof the Covenanters kept themselves in a watchful attitude, and prepared for hostilities, which unhappily broke out between them and the Royal troops in little more than a year afterwards. The Civil War, which followed the uncompromising position taken up by the General Assembly at Glasgow, proved most advantageous for the Royalists in the first six engagements, but in 1645 the Covenanters surprised the Royal troops at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, where Montrose and his forces were routed with great slaughter. It is nevertheless matter for deep regret that Leslie, the General of the forces of the Covenanters, on the achievement of such a brilliant victory, should have neglected to manifest the humanity, not to speak of the Christianity, consistent with the profession of the Covenanters. He put to death many of those whom he had taken captive, and that in a most brutal manner. The defeated army was scattered through different parts of the country, and a number of fugitives on their way to the West of Scotland arrived in Linlithgow with their wives and children. They were of Irish extraction, and had fought under Montrose, the Royalist General. They were captured near the town, and thrown over a high bridge into the river (Avon) at Linlithgow-Bridge. These heartless cruelties, perpetrated by the orders of Leslie, leave a dark blot on the memory of that able General. "The Irish indeed seem to have been excepted from quarter in both kingdoms, probably because their atrocities had placed them beyond the pale of civilised warfare" (Balfour). By an Act of the Scottish Parliament all the Irish prisoners, taken at Philiphaugh, were ordered to

Soldiers and their Families Drowned at Linlithgow-Bridge.

be executed without trial, so that the cruelties inflicted on those drowned at Linlithgow-Bridge were quite in keeping with the general slaughter. Whether the supposition of Balfour is correct or not, we cannot too strongly condemn the shocking inhumanity displayed towards the families of those fugitives.

About this time an epidemic of a rather virulent type prevailed in the City of Edinburgh, and in consequence the citizens were much alarmed. Among those who left the capital and fled to the country were the University Professors and the Members of Parliament, who resorted to Linlithgow. The former taught their classes in St. Michael's Church, while Parliament assembled in the Palace (1646). If the complaint of the Privy Council made to Charles eight years previously, anent the insufficient accommodation for the Advocates, was well founded, it must have been no easy matter at this later date to obtain suitable accommodation in, or at a reasonable distance from, the town for all those attending Parliament and University.

University and Parliament Adjourn to Linlithgow.

While the Senatus of Edinburgh University were appropriating the Church of St. Michael's, the Kirk-Session and the Magistrates appear to have been harmoniously co-operating for the advancement of the moral and religious interests of the community. This is evident from the stringent regulations issued by the Kirk-Session as to Sabbath observance. It was then arranged that one of the Bailies should parade the town in the

Sabbath Observance in Linlithgow in 1647.

forenoon of every Sabbath, and that one of the elders should perform a similar duty in the afternoon, so that perfect order might be maintained. Moreover, those two officials were enjoined to accompany the minister after church service through the town for the purpose of ascertaining who were engaged in exercises becoming the Sabbath. It was further resolved by the Kirk-Session that no person be seen upon the street without sufficient reason before six o'clock in the evening, and that all who failed to comply with these edicts should be punished as Sabbath-breakers. One cannot but be struck at the striking contrast between Sabbath observance in Linlithgow, as aimed at by the Church and Town Council in 1647, and that practised at the present time. The former savours too much of mere legalism, while the latter appears to be unblushing antinomianism.

During the Commonwealth Linlithgow became once more the centre of warlike activity. Oliver Cromwell invaded Scotland in 1650-51, and selected Linlithgow as his temporary headquarters. While he was in the Burgh he apparently acted on the principle of the popular adage that "necessity has no law," forasmuch as he, when stabling could not be obtained elsewhere for all his horses, appropriated the Church for that purpose. The mound in the Palace-grounds, generally known by the name of the "giant's grave," is said to have formed part of the fortifications constructed by the Protector. It has also been asserted that his western outposts were stationed near the Hainan Wood, about two miles west from the Burgh. Accord-

Cromwell in Linlithgow.

ing to the "Gazetteer of Scotland," the art of manufacturing leather was first introduced into Linlithgow about this time, and that by the soldiers of Cromwell. If that statement is correct, the leather trade has continued to flourish in the Burgh for nearly 240 years. It must have been carried on with great energy from the time of its introduction until the latter part of last century, as there were then forty-eight different places of business for its manufacture,—13 skinneries, 17 tanneries, and 18 currieries.

The excitement in the town, caused by the presence of Cromwell and his army, had little more than died away when the Linlithgow Remonstrance created strong party feeling, and rent the Presbytery in two. For nine years thereafter there were two Linlithgow Presbyteries, the one called the Protesting or Remonstrant Presbytery, the other the Resolutionist or Moderate Presbytery. This local Remonstrance produced a sensation co-extensive with the Presbyterian Church, and originated with Mr. Patrick Gillespie, who had addressed a strong protest to the Committee of the Estates of the Realm. In this he censured them for allowing Charles II. to dishonour the Covenants by taking the oath to uphold and defend them, although they knew the King was insincere.

Linlithgow Remonstrance.

Gillespie's Remonstrance was the cause of a serious rupture in the Church. The more moderate of the ministers condemned it, but those who declined to compromise their principles, defended it. The subject was discussed at a meeting of the Linlithgow Presbytery

with extreme warmth, the result being, as already stated, the breaking up of the Presbytery in two. The six ministers who defended the foregoing protest formed themselves into a separate Presbytery, and their action has been designated the "Linlithgow Remonstrance."

According to Mr Hew Scott the following unhappy incident occurred in Linlithgow in 1653, and may be taken as an instance of the strained relations existing between the Protesters and the Resolutioners. The Protesters in the Linlithgow congregation, it is said, worshipped in the one end of the Church, and the Resolutioners in the other. In the above year the former addressed a call to a Mr Alexander Guthrie, and the Protesting Presbytery accordingly assembled to proceed with the ordination. They were not, however, allowed to enter the Church, but, being driven away by violence, they spent the night at St. Magdalen's, and returned on the following day for the purpose above stated. Again they met with stormy opposition. The Governor of the Palace and his soldiers, and also the Magistrates with their officers and halberts, accompanied by a number of the inhabitants, turned out to assist the Moderates, who fell upon the Ministers, wounding some of them, and once more driving them from the town. The Remonstrant Presbytery adjourned to Langlands, near Pardovan, and there proceeded with the settlement of Mr. Guthrie.

Disgraceful Conduct at the Ordination of a Minister.

Wodrow mentions the case of another of the Protesting Ministers of Linlithgow, Mr. William Weir, who endured an amount of persecution for his faithful

adherence to principle. Because he refused to surrender the Church registers and emoluments he was imprisoned by Glen, the Provost, in the Thieves' Hole, and afterwards in the Palace. He was called from Linlithgow to West Calder, where, on account of his faithful preaching at his induction, he was apprehended and sent to Edinburgh Prison. On his liberation he went to Ireland, and from thence after the Revolution, was again called in 1691 by the Linlithgow congregation to the first charge of St. Michael's, where he continued until 1695, in which year, according to Wodrow, he died "triumphing over death and the grave."

It seems that Glen did not remain Provost long after he imprisoned Mr Weir in the year 1661, for in a few months afterwards he is spoken of as the "late Provost." On his retiral from the Provostship he applied, along with one James Glen, to the Privy Council for compensation for losses he had sustained by his devotion to the King's service, and for his constant attachment to His Majesty's interests. A sum of over £7,834 Scots, or about £653 sterling, was awarded them. Such subservient tools of King Charles as Glen were thus enriched from funds made up of fines imposed on many of those who refused to conform to the despot's will, and from the stipends of those faithful ministers who declined to sacrifice their covenanting principles. In Linlithgowshire twenty persons were thus fined, their fines ranging from £300 to £4,000 Scots, and the total amount extorted from those in the county who would not conform, was £24,000 Scots, or £2,000 sterling.

Penalties Imposed on Covenanters.

The restoration of the exiled Monarch, Charles II., to his throne in May, 1660, was hailed with delight by the people in general. The Presbyterians in Scotland, lulled into a false confidence of security by the King's solemn protestation to uphold their form of worship, and to grant liberty of conscience to all his subjects, joined in giving to Charles a hearty welcome back to his country and kingdom. His restoration, however, proved the precursor of severe trial for the faithful Scottish Covenanters, for this perfidious Sovereign, as soon as he found himself securely established on his throne, passed an Act declaring it unlawful for subjects to enter into any such Solemn League or Covenant as he himself on bended knee had sworn to defend.

Not only were the Covenants thus nullified by Act of Parliament, but on the second anniversary of the restoration great indignation was manifested in different parts of the country against the National League and Covenant. They were destroyed in London and Edinburgh,—in the latter place by the hands of the public executioner: but nowhere in the United Kingdom was there such hostility manifested against them as in the ancient Burgh of Linlithgow. The 29th of May, 1662, was kept as a holiday by the inhabitants, and on that day the following disgraceful proceedings took place, and were witnessed with great sorrow by the more respectable portion of the community. The following detailed account is taken from Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Kirk of Scotland":—

Burning of the Covenants at Linlithgow.

"Our solemnity at Linlithgow, May 29th, 1662,

was performed after this manner. Divine service being ended, the Magistrates a little thereafter repaired to the Earl of Linlithgow at his lodgings, to invite his Lordship to honour them with his presence at the solemnity of that day; which he did. Then coming to the market-place, where a table, covered with confections, was placed, they were met by the minister of the place, who prayed, and sang a Psalm. After which, eating a little of the confections, they threw the rest among the people. Meanwhile the fountain did run plentifully with French and Spanish wine, and continued so for two or three hours. The Earl of Linlithgow and the Magistrates drank the King and Queen, and the Royal Family and progeny, their healths. At the Cross was erected an arch, standing upon four pillars. On the one side of the arch was placed a statue in the form of an old hag, having the Covenants in her hand, with this superscription — 'A Glorious Reformation.' On the other side was another statue in a Whigmuir's habit, having the remonstrance in his hand with this inscription—'No Association with Malignants.' On the top of the arch was placed a statue representing the devil as an angel of light with this label at his mouth, "Stand to the Cause." The arch was beautifully adorned with several draughts of rocks, reels, and kirk-stools; upon the pillar beneath the remonstrance were drawn beechen cogs and spoons. Within the arch upon the right hand was drawn a Committee of Estates, with this superscription — 'Act for delivering up the King.' On the left hand was drawn a commission of the kirk with this inscription—'Act of the West Kirk.'

Wodrow's Account of the same.

In the middle of the arch hung a tablet with this litany—

'From Covenanters with uplifted hands,
From remonstrators with associate bands,
From such committees as governed this nation,
From kirk commissions, and their protestation,
Good Lord deliver us.'

Upon the back of the arch was drawn the picture of Rebellion in a religious habit, with eyes turned up, and other fanatic gestures, in its right hand holding 'Lex Rex,' and in its left hand holding that pitiful pamphlet—'The Causes of God's Wrath.' Round about her were lying Acts of Parliament, Acts of Committees of Estates, Acts of General Assemblies and commissions of the kirk, with their protestations and declarations during those twenty-two years' rebellion. Above her was this superscription—'Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft.' At the drinking of the King's health, fire was put to the frame, and the fire-works about it gave many fine reports, and suddenly all was consumed to ashes; which being consumed straightway there appeared a tablet, supported by two angels, and bearing this inscription—

'Great Britain's Monarch on this day was born,
And to his kingdom happily restored;
The Queen's arrived, the mitre now is worn,
Let us rejoice, this day is from the Lord
Fly hence all traitors who did mar our peace;
Fly hence, schismatics, who our Church did rent;
Fly, covenanting, remonstrating race,
Let us rejoice that God this day hath sent.'

Then the Magistrates accompanied the Earl of Linlithgow to the Palace, where the Earl had a magnificent bonfire and drank with the Magistrates the King's, Queen's, and

other Royal healths. When they had taken their leave of the Earl, the Magistrates, accompanied by a great many of the inhabitants, made their procession through the town, saluting every person of account. The proceedings of that day gave great pain to all in the Burgh who reverenced the holy name of God."

The principal actors in carrying through those mockeries were Robert Milne, junior bailie, and James Ramsay, one of the ministers of St. Michael's Church, both of whom had previously, in a solemn manner, with uplifted hands, sworn to defend the Covenant. Milne was afterwards elected Provost, and from the Town Council minute books it appears that he occupied that position for nine years. He became a rich man, but afterwards became bankrupt, and fled to Edinburgh, where he died in great misery, having lost his reason as well as his riches. Ramsay was a Resolutionist, a scheming man, evidently prepared to be or do anything, provided his own personal interests were advanced thereby; a Covenanter and Presbyterian the one day, and an Episcopalian and Covenant burner the next. For his services to the Crown he was made Dean of Hamilton, and afterwards Bishop of Dunblane. His successor in the first charge of St. Michael's was, according to Mr Hew Scott, an Alexander Seton, whose ministry proved most unacceptable to the people of Linlithgow. He was accused of several acts of imprudence, among others of misappropriating the Poor's Fund. He was also libelled by the Town Council for slander, and afterwards deposed.

The Town Council, in its corporate capacity, seems to have taken no part in the above scandalous outrage on the religious feelings of the Presbyterians; at least we could

discover no mention of such in the Council minutes. Nor does the name of the Provost appear in connection with these events. It may, therefore, be inferred that Provost Stewart was opposed to the whole affair.

We may here mention the case of another Linlithgow Provost, who, in 1679, on his refusal to furnish baggage-horses for the King's forces, was summoned to appear before the Privy Council. The Provost maintained that the Burgh was not by law bound to furnish horses for that purpose. The Privy Council, however, declared him incapable of retaining office, and, besides, inflicted upon him a fine and sent him to prison. The historian omits to furnish the name of that Provost, but from the Burgh records we observe that the then Chief Magistrate was called Andrew Duncan, and that he ceased to hold office in that year. It is not surprising that Provost Duncan should have resisted the unreasonable demands of Charles's representative, the imperious Lauderdale, as Linlithgow had been assessed beyond all legitimate proportion in providing for the maintenance of a number of soldiers located in the Burgh. A total sum of £24,000 Scots had been exacted from the town for that purpose alone, and in the year 1667 there was no less a sum than £260 Scots paid over to the Crown every month, or a total for the year of £260 sterling. In these circumstances it certainly would have been to the credit of the Town Council had they supported their worthy Provost in resisting the harsh and oppressive demands then enforced.

Linlithgow Provost Imprisoned.

One of the many agents ever willing to enforce submission to the tyrannical behests of King Charles II. was Sir Thomas Dalzell of Binns, an estate about three miles north-

east from Linlithgow. He was appointed General over part of His Majesty's forces, and to him were assigned certain districts in Scotland, with special instruction to suppress all who in any manner shewed the slightest disinclination to obey those laws which had been enacted against the liberties of Presbyterians. As a soldier he had served some time in Russia, and had there acquired considerable military experience. He was an able General, and was mainly instrumental in raising the famous regiment of Scots Greys. He was, however, of a cruel disposition, which was strikingly manifested in his persecution of the Covenanters. It mattered not how brutal his orders were, they had to be obeyed; and his callous nature remained unmoved even when he was inflicting pain on unoffending persons. We subjoin a few instances of the cruelty of his nature, which at the same time will serve to demonstrate the dreadful sufferings which many in those days had to endure, should the slightest suspicion be entertained against them.

Dalzell of Binns.

He ordered a young man to be executed because he refused to give information as to his father's hiding-place. In Kilmarnock a number of persons were confined by Dalzell's orders in a contracted dungeon, where they had to stand erect night and day, and where they were denied that provision necessary even for cleanliness and decency. On another occasion he caused a peasant to be apprehended at Lanark, and demanded of him the names of the rebels who had that day passed through the town. The man was a stranger, and could not supply the information, and for this was ordered instantly to be shot. The poor man earnestly besought Dalzell to spare him, at least until the following day, that he

might have time to prepare for death. But the monster refused to listen to this prayer, and the man was at once shot and left naked, exposed to the view of all who passed that way. He also commanded a woman to be cast into a loathesome hole amongst reptiles, her only offence being that she had allowed a fugitive to pass through her house. Her pitiful cries were heard at a great distance, but none dared to venture near to give assistance, for fear of sharing a similar fate.

Because of his cruelties, his licentiousness and his atheism, Dalzell, along with others, was publicly excommunicated at Torwood. He died while lifting the wine-cup to his mouth amid fiendish mockery of an old man on trial at Edinburgh.

CHAPTER VII.

TEST ACT — LINLITHGOW DEPRIVED OF HER MUNICIPAL RIGHTS—TRIAL OF GEORGE LAPSLEY—VISIT OF JAMES VII. TO THE TOWN — LINLITHGOW-BRIDGE CUSTOMS —JAMES KIRKWOOD — PRINCE CHARLIE VISITS THE BURGH — BURNING OF THE PALACE — THE MARROW MEN—THE BURGESS OATH—LINLITHGOW CHURCHES—VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE arbitrary rule of the Stuarts may be said to have reached its climax when, in 1681, Charles II., not yet satisfied with the power with which he had been endowed, obtained a further extension of his supremacy by virtue of the Test Act. By that Act it was ordained that every person in the kingdom, holding any public office whatever, should bind themselves by oath to submit to the King in all things, and that no change in the constitution of Church or State should be attempted unless with the King's authority. Not long after the passing of that measure, the whole of the Linlithgow Town Council took the Test Oath. Alexander Milne, Provost; James Glen, Bailie; the Earl of Linlithgow and Lord Livingstone, Councillors, took the oath upon their knees. It appears, however, that the Privy Council thought the Provost and

Test Act.

Magistrates too lenient in their administration of those obnoxious laws, and Milne retired from office, doubtless because he saw that compulsory retirement was near at hand. Wodrow, when speaking of the hardships at this time inflicted on different Burghs, says:—"I only give one instance in the town of Linlithgow, one of the ancientest Burghs in the kingdom. The Magistrates were not so forward as the clergy and some others to violent poor people, and therefore a commission was granted to the Earl of Linlithgow by the Council with ampler powers than the Magistrates had. On September 11th the (Privy) Council renewed the commissions granted to the Earl, because the Provost and Magistrates of Linlithgow had connived at and neglected persons guilty of disorder; and authorised the Earl of Linlithgow, Lord Livingstone, and their deputies to have accumulative jurisdiction within the Burgh." They were empowered to quash any conviction of the Magistrates, and unlimited power was placed in their hands. The Privy Council further appointed Lord Livingstone Provost, and he, with the Earl of Linlithgow, was authorised to appoint whomsoever they pleased to the vacancies in the Town Council. From 1683 till the Revolution the municipal liberties of Linlithgow were entirely withdrawn, and on more than one occasion letters were received from the Privy Council, naming the persons who were to act as Councillors and Magistrates. Of course only those were appointed who were known to be subservient to the will of the King.

About this time there lived in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow a working man, named George Lapsley, who wrought as a miller at Linlithgow Mills for a consider-

able time, and who frequently attended the conventicles held in the district. His faithful adherence to covenanting principles brought him into conflict with the Prelates, who ordered his arrest. The following are some of the questions put at his trial before a Committee of the Council, with his answers thereto:—

Trial of George Lapsley.

Question.—Wherefore are you in prison? *Answer.*—For hearing the Gospel. *Q.*—Do you go to Church? *A.*—No. *Q.*—Wherefore? *A.*—Because they are not the sent ministers of Christ, and because of their perjury. *Q.*—Will you own the King's authority? *A.*—According to the Word of God and Covenants, and no otherwise, which you have broken and burned, for which the Lord will be avenged. *Q.*—Was the Bishop's death murder? *A.*—I am not concerned with his life or death either. *Q.*—Was Haxton's death murder? *A.*—Yes; and all those whose lives you have taken these two-and-twenty years. *Q.*—Was you at Bothwell Bridge? *A.*—I will not accuse myself. *Q.*—What thought you of it? *A.*—I thought it duty and not rebellion, and that those who were of the contrary part were in rebellion against God, and that you will find. *Q.*—What book is that under your arm? (He had been brought suddenly before the Committee of Council, when he had been reading the Bible, and he had it with him.) *A.*—It is the Acts of the Parliament of Heaven, and I charge you that ye judge me according to what is contained therein, as ye shall have to answer at the Great Day, when ye and I shall be on equal terms. *Q.*—Is it lawful to resist the King's forces at the field meetings? *A.*—Yes; the law of Nature allows self-defence, and the Word of

God and our Covenants to stand to the defence of one another.

Lapsley was sent back to prison to await judgment, but he escaped; otherwise he would have been condemned to death, as his friend, John Dick, was, who was similarly charged some time afterwards.

Notwithstanding the grievous hardships which the people of Linlithgow experienced under the *regime* of the Stuarts, and especially during the reign of Charles II., the inhabitants were always ready to show every possible mark of respect to the Crown. This was very evident when Prince James, afterwards James VII., visited the town shortly before his accession to the throne, *i.e.*, at the very time when the Burgh was deprived of its municipal liberties. It is said that the reception then accorded to the Prince proved so expensive that for many years the town found itself burdened with debt. James VII. soon forgot the kindness displayed towards him when in Linlithgow, for his after conduct towards it was most ungracious. Like the most of tyrants he knew little of gratitude, and his deposition in 1688 proved a boon to Linlithgow as well as to the whole nation.

Visit of Prince James to Linlithgow.

There is one prominent exception to those harsh measures, experienced by the Burgh at the hands of Charles II., to which we would call attention. About the year 1660 the Earl of Linlithgow built the bridge which spans the river Avon at Linlithgow-Bridge, and in consideration of this great expense, power was granted by Charles II. to

Linlithgow-Bridge Customs

the Earl to exact a custom on merchandise passing over it. The said Earl transferred the bridge to the Burgh of Linlithgow in 1681, the town paying to his Lordship in return the sum of 120 guineas. The right of Linlithgow to levy custom on goods crossing over the bridge was confirmed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament passed in 1685. By the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act Linlithgow was deprived of this power which it had enjoyed for two hundred years, compensation to the amount of £900 being paid to the Burgh in 1886 by the counties of Linlithgow and Stirling.

James Kirkwood and the Twenty-seven Gods.

It is much to be regretted that many of the Presbyterians, who, for a series of years previous to the Revolution, had endured great sufferings in maintaining their principles, and in manfully contending for liberty to worship God according to their own conscientious convictions, should have denied that liberty to others, as soon as they gained the ascendancy in 1688. This spirit of retaliation and inconsistency was manifested in a striking manner at Linlithgow in the case of James Kirkwood, Rector of the Burgh School from 1675 to 1689, and author of the book, published in 1711 and entitled "The Twenty-Seven Gods of Linlithgow." The author makes the following apology for the unique title of his pamphlet:—"Pray, good reader, do not stumble at the odd title given to this book, it not being Mr. Kirkwood's contrivance, but what the members of the Town Council assume to themselves, as you'll see, pages 10 and 15." On turning to the pages referred to, we observe that the Town Council charged the schoolmaster

with reviling the gods of his people (*i.e.*, themselves); hence the designation "The Twenty-Seven Gods of Linlithgow."

Kirkwood says that, while he was Governor to Lord Bruce at Glasgow College, Sir Robert Miln, Provost of Linlithgow, pressed him to accept the Rectorship of the Burgh School, but that he, having good prospects of rising to a place of credit and advantage, declined the offer. Sir Robert, however, with the assistance of Alexander Miln and one of the ministers of the town, urged him to reconsider the matter, and at length, in the following January, succeeded in inducing him to accept the mastership of the Burgh School in preference to other appointments then open to him. On the 23rd of the same month the Council unanimously ratified the arrangement come to between the Provost and Mr Kirkwood. The salary was fixed at 400 merks annually, and the appointment was understood by the teacher to be for life, otherwise he would not have accepted it.

The schoolmaster was a staunch supporter of Prelacy, but by no means disposed to join with his co-religionists in persecuting the Presbyterians. On the contrary he gave sincere evidence of real sympathy for them in the midst of their sufferings. His generous and self-denying labours on their behalf were shown in an exceptional way in June, 1679, when 1200 of the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge were brought to Linlithgow on their way to Edinburgh. They were tied two and two, and many of them were almost naked. They appear to have been driven into the Fleshmarket like a flock of sheep, and Kirkwood, in his "Twenty-Seven Gods," states that he went to the captain and received from

him his cane, which served as a token to the soldiers that he (the rector) was not to be hindered from showing kindness to the prisoners. Having secured a supply of food and clothing for the unfortunate men, he stood alone on the Fleshmarket wall from three o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock in the forenoon, and lowered to the prisoners by means of a cord 300 suits of clothes, and an abundant supply of meat and drink, with great risk to his person.

This kindness of the schoolmaster appears to have been altogether forgotten by the Presbyterians, when they came into power at the Revolution, for in the following year they proposed to reduce his salary to 300 merks. Kirkwood very naturally objected to this proposal, which was contrary to the agreement. He was dismissed without warning, and another teacher was appointed in his room. One John Dunbar, who was expected to accept the rectorship, told the Provost that what the Council had done to Kirkwood "was contrary to their agreement, and that if men were thus to be used, or rather abused, they had better be keepers of sheep than fit themselves for the training of youth." The reason Kirkwood gives for the Council's harsh and summary proceedings against him is that he would not renounce the Test Oath. There is little doubt but that he would have been retained in his office had he complied with the request of Stuart of Pardovan (who was elected Provost about that time) to leave the Church and worship with them in what he called the "Meeting House."

The Council not only dismissed Kirkwood from his office in the school, but also proceeded to evict him from his house. He thereupon made application to the

Court of Session for suspension of the Council's mandate, which was granted, the Court declaring that the Council had exceeded their power in evicting the teacher. The Magistrates, however, appealed, and the case continued in Court for several years.

"On one occasion," says Kirkwood, "the Provost caused the Council bell to be rung, and, after very short deliberation, the Council sent their four officers to his house, who, in a most violent manner, broke open the door, took the keys out of his pocket, and dragged himself, wife, and six young children downstairs in a most barbarous manner." Kirkwood they committed to prison, while his wife and children were left standing below a stair, hiding themselves from the gaze of the multitude, as best they could. The Provost at the same time threatened to get the hangman to expel them from the town. On another occasion a riot occurred in the Burgh when Mr Kirkwood's house was made the object of attack, while his furniture was thrown into the street and completely destroyed. Afterwards the Lord Advocate, in name of the Council, offered him £50 sterling and the salary due to him from the time of his dismissal. But the ill-used teacher was too excited to listen to any compromise. He declared to his Lordship that his good furniture was all destroyed, and that he was a ruined man.

The riot seems to have taken place with the concurrence at least of the Magistrates, as the Court of Session remitted to the Earl of Linlithgow to make inquiry whether it was with the connivance of the Provost and Bailies only, or of the whole Council, that the disturbance arose. As a result of the investigation

the town was fined in a penalty of 4000 merks, which was ordered to be paid to Mr Kirkwood, but it does not appear that he ever received it. He was afterwards appointed as teacher in a school at Kelso.

Prior to the death of Queen Anne the Jacobites entertained the most sanguine hopes that on her demise they would be able to secure the throne for her brother, James the Pretender, whom they designated James VIII. On the death of the Queen civil war again raged throughout the country, and the Jacobites having proclaimed the Pretender King, the Duke of Argyle, in name of the Government, summoned all loyal citizens to his standard. Lord Polwarth, among others, raised a regiment and joined King George's supporters under Argyle. Polwarth and his regiment were quartered in Linlithgow. We have thus in 1715 the Burgh again occupied by troops on the war-path.

In 1745 another attempt was made by the Stuarts to regain the kingdom from which they had been expelled, The Jacobites, faithful in their adherence to that dynasty, rallied round the young Pretender, whose progress for some time was very encouraging. While on his way to Edinburgh, he came to Linlithgow and visited the once lovely Palace where many of his forefathers had resided, and where more than one of his progenitors were born. On his arrival in the town he received from the inhabitants a right Royal welcome. The gates were thrown open, the Magistrates provided for him a sumptuous entertainment, and the Cross Well again sent forth a plentiful supply of

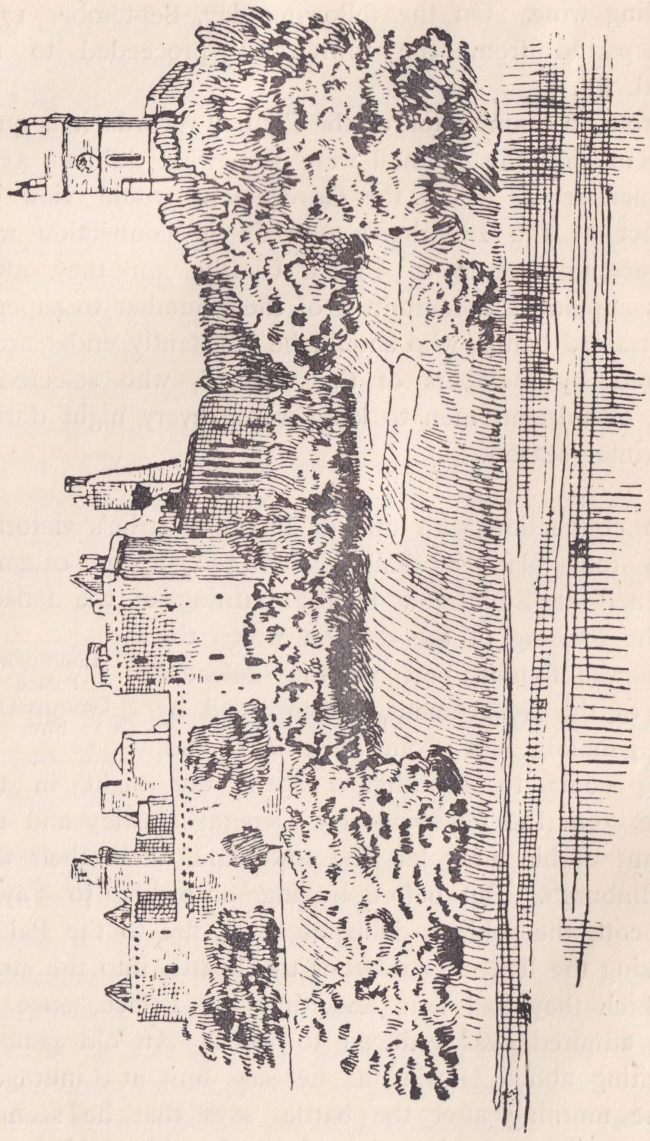
Prince Charlie at Linlithgow.

sparkling wine. On the following day, September 17th, he departed from the town and proceeded to the capital.

From an examination of the Council records it is quite apparent that the Council were somewhat dubious as to the manner in which the Government would view the conduct of the Linlithgow officials in connection with the reception given to Prince Charlie, for they afterwards appointed a committee of their number to superintend trained bands, who should be constantly under arms, officered by members of the Council, who selected a guard of thirteen men to keep watch every night during the winter season.

In connection with one of Prince Charlie's victories, which took place at Falkirk in 1746, a sad calamity happened at Linlithgow in the burning of the Palace. On the evening of the day on which the battle was fought, part of the defeated army of the Government, accompanied by their general, fled from the field and, having come to Linlithgow, spent the night in the Palace. On the following day General Hawley and the remnant of his army left the town and made their way to Edinburgh. But before leaving, according to Taylor and Scott, the soldiers deliberately set fire to the Palace by raking the live embers from the hearth into the straw on which they had lain, and thus the Palace, once so much admired, was reduced to ruins. An old general in writing about Hawley as he saw him at Linlithgow on the morning after the battle, says that he seemed to be sensible of his misconduct, for his looks were

Linlithgow Palace Destroyed by Fire.



LINLITHGOW PALACE.

most wretched. We have seen it stated that the burning of a the Palace was accidental. This opinion, however, is contrary to that of Taylor, and the authority he cites.

While the Jacobites were making strenuous efforts to reinstate the Pretender on the throne of his fathers, a war of a very different kind was being carried on within the Church of Scotland, which ultimately produced good effects in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow. It originated in the publication of a book entitled "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," in which was contained an exposition of the evangelical truths of the Gospel. Moderatism was then rampant in the Church. The Moderates were highly displeased when this book was issued, and vehemently condemned it. In these circumstances Mr. Ebenezer Erskine prepared a representation, which was signed by twelve ministers, remonstrating against the Assembly's decision regarding the "Book of Marrow." Those twelve ministers were called the Marrow Men, one of whom was located at South Queensferry; while another, Mr. John Bonar, ministered at Torphichen. The name of Mr. Erskine, one of the four brethren who were ejected from the Church in 1733, and who, with the other three ministers, formed the Associate Presbytery, appears in the sederunt of the meeting held at Knock in 1738, for the purpose of forming a congregation of those who for some time had banded themselves into what was then called a Praying Society. Dr. McKelvie says that the people were gathered from a radius of not less than twenty miles, and that the congregation formed at Knock joined the Associate Presbytery, there being 15 elders, and

The Marrow Controversy.

122 members who had withdrawn from the Established Church.

That congregation, established in 1738, doubtless sprang from the Marrow controversy, and was the parent of both of the United Presbyterian congregations which at present exist in the burgh. At the request of those now mentioned, Mr. Erskine preached in St. Michael's Church, Linlithgow, previously to the formation of the Knock congregation.

The Church at Knock.

Those seceders met for worship at first in a barn, or in the fields at Tartraven, a farm about three miles south of Linlithgow. About two years after the congregation was formed, the place of worship was changed to Knock, a rocky eminence in the neighbourhood of Tartraven, because its high elevation served as a landmark to those coming from a distance. The membership of the congregation was further increased in 1740 by a number of Linlithgow inhabitants joining it. The question then arose as to the erection of a church. Some preferred the site at Knock, while others preferred Linlithgow. The Presbytery, however, decided that it should be built near to where they then worshipped. A site was granted by Mr. Nimmo, proprietor of Craigmailen, who resided at Bormie.

After the building had been begun, the people were disheartened in consequence of the insufficiency of their funds; but Mr. Nimmo on a Monday morning turned out his own horses and men, driving material for the Church, and otherwise rendering valuable assistance. Before the week was ended three feet of the walls had been built, by which the members were so encouraged

that they also rendered personal services, and speedily completed the building.

This congregation continued to prosper for some years, until in 1747 a disruption took place over the Burgess Oath, which, by Act of Parliament, all the burgesses of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth were bound to subscribe. A clause in that oath was worded thus:—"I protest before God and your Lordship that I profess and allow with all my heart the true religion, presently professed within this realm, and authorised by the law thereof; and shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." The Associate Synod was divided over this oath, some holding it unlawful for any of their people to subscribe to it; others considered it a matter for mutual forbearance. The former were called anti-Burghers, the latter Burghers.

Burgess Oath.

The Burghers in the Craigmailen congregation, resident in Linlithgow, left the church, and worshipped first at West Linton, then at Torphichen, but in 1770 were formed into a separate congregation, worshipping in the town for about two years in a tanyard belonging to a Mr Learmonth. They then succeeded in building a place of worship, which they continued to occupy from 1772 until 1834, when the present West U.P. Church was built. It is seated for 546, and its present pastor, the Rev. John L. Munro, B.D., is the seventh minister of the old Burgher congregation.

Formation of West U.P. Church.

The Anti-Burgher portion of the congregation continued to worship there for sixty years after the breach caused by the Burgess Oath. In 1805 the question was raised as to the advisability of erecting another church at Craigmailen, or building one at Linlithgow, from whence the majority of the congregation came. It was ultimately resolved to build at Linlithgow, and accordingly in 1807 the larger number of the members removed to the present East U.P. Church. It is seated for 480, and the present minister of the old Anti-Burgher congregation—Rev. Robert Wilson—is the seventh pastor, exclusive of the one who held the pastorate of the undivided congregation at Craigmailen. The minority, when services were discontinued at Craigmailen, formed a separate congregation at Bathgate.

East U.P Church.

As we have had occasion, while speaking of many local events, to refer to the old church of St. Michael, it is quite unnecessary to add more than a few words to what has already been said regarding it. Since the Reformation a large number of ministers have been appointed to its pastorate, the present one, the Rev. John Ferguson, being the twenty-seventh. Five of these were ordained to the second charge before they were transferred to the first, one of them being thrice inducted—once to the second charge, and twice to the first. It ceased to be a collegiate charge in 1744, after having been such for a period of 168 years. Church discipline, as practised in many of the churches in the present day, is a very trivial and formal thing, when compared with the discipline which

Established Church.

was in vogue in Linlithgow church at the beginning of last century, as may be discovered on examination of the session records. Offenders in those days were subjected to a severe private ordeal, and were afterwards, in many cases, compelled to appear before the congregation on three successive Sabbaths for the purpose of being publicly rebuked, and in the event of any person refusing to comply with the order of the kirk-session they were handed over to the Magistrates to be punished for contumacy.

Little requires to be said concerning the Free Church, as its history is of so recent date. The facts regarding the ever-memorable Disruption in 1843 are so well known that we pass from it by suggesting that, had it taken place while the Stuarts sat on the throne, it would in all likelihood have been accompanied with much bloodshed. The building erected in Linlithgow shortly after the Disruption, as a place of worship, was considered unsuitable, and in 1874 the present church, accommodating about 350, was built. The Rev. Alexander Mitchell, M.A., is the present and fourth pastor.

Free Church.

The Evangelical Union congregation occupies the church which formerly belonged to the Congregationalists, and may be said to be only in its infancy, as it is only about three years since it was first started. As yet no minister has been ordained to the infant charge, but Mr. Ure, student, at present conducts the services.

A Roman Catholic place of worship has recently been built in the town, and the present incumbent is the Rev. Donald Easson.

The Royal Burghs had been from a very early period under an obligation to contribute a specified sum annually as a Land Tax. In the reign of Queen Anne the tax payable by Scotland was fixed at £48,000 sterling, one-sixth of which was levied on the Burghs. A stent to this amount was imposed year by year by special Act of Parliament until the reign of George III., when it was made perpetual. It was then enacted that of the £8000 paid by the Burghs Linlithgow's proportion should be £135 13s. 8d. The Convention of Burghs, which possessed the power to allocate the tax, did not, however, enforce that enactment, but continued the allocation made in 1737. Our Burgh's quota, as then fixed, was £1 2s. per £100, or a total annual payment of £85 16s. When the Convention made the last re-allocation of the stent in 1805, it reduced the sum payable by Linlithgow to £58 10s. This sum still exceeds Linlithgow's just proportion, for several of the Burghs, although their valuation is very much in excess of that of Linlithgow, do not pay one-seventh of the Land Tax imposed on her. Were this tax allocated according to the yearly rental of the different burghs, as it ought to be, Linlithgow, instead of paying £58 10s., would have its quota reduced to not more than £20. An urgent demand for re-valuation on the principle of equity ought to be persistently made.

Linlithgow Disproportionately Taxed.

Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria visited the ancient Burgh in 1842, accompanied by His Royal Highness Prince Albert. The crowd of visitors to the town on that occasion was so great that the Magistrates who

awaited Her Majesty's approach at the West Port, as near as possible to the site of the old western gate, could not approach the Royal carriage. The then Provost, Mr. Adam Dawson, who had been deputed by the Council to present an address of welcome, found it impossible to discharge the honourable duty imposed on him. The address, however, was afterwards forwarded to Dalkeith Palace, where the Royal party were staying, and was there presented to Her Majesty. On that particular occasion many of the special constables who had been appointed to keep a passage clear for the Royal procession, had their batons broken, while themselves were driven before the crowd, glad to secure safety in retreat. It has been affirmed that the number of people who then visited Linlithgow was quite unprecedented.

The Queen's Visit to Linlithgow.

His Royal Highness the Prince Consort was, in September of that year, made a Burgess and Freeman of the Burgh. Among others who have received a like honour, we may here mention the following distinguished personages:—His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, son of George II., in June, 1746; the Right Honourable the Earl of Dalhousie in August, 1767; John Moore, Esq., afterwards Sir John Moore, in April, 1784; Mr. Robert Burns, the Scottish Poet, in November, 1787; the Right Honourable Lord Cathcart, Commander of His Majesty's Forces in Great Britain, in May, 1811; John Ramsay, Esquire of Kildalton, M.P., in October, 1878; the Right Honourable the Earl of Rosebery, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, in April, 1886; and the Right Honourable the Earl of Hopetoun, now Governor of Victoria, in March, 1889.

In concluding this brief outline of the more important events which have transpired in and around one of the oldest Burghs in Scotland, it may not be inappropriate to make some allusion to the change which has taken place in the trade of the district during a comparatively short period. Mention has already been made of the fact that the manufacture of leather was one of the principal industries carried on in the town for several generations. This trade is still being prosecuted with apparent energy, and although the number of business premises for tanning and currying does not now exceed one-sixth of the number formerly stated, the quantity of leather manufactured and dressed in Linlithgow at present doubtless exceeds the amount then produced. The skinnery business, however, is all but defunct, although there were at one time as many as thirteen skinnery businesses in the Burgh. The staple trade of the locality for a long series of years was the manufacture of boots and shoes. About forty years ago, and even still more recently, it was computed that there could not be fewer than 200 men and 60 apprentices engaged in this department. But this branch of industry throughout the country has, within the past few years, undergone a great change, so that many districts have been seriously affected, and none more so than Linlithgow. In consequence, many of the workmen were under the necessity of leaving the town in search of employment, while others have been compelled to turn their attention to some other means of gaining a livelihood. In these circumstances the outlook was the opposite of encouraging until about five years ago the clouded horizon was somewhat brightened by the starting of oilworks at Philpstoun and Champfleurie. These

works employ about 800 men, many of whom reside in the town. The population prior to the commencement of these manufactories was nearly 3900. Since then it has greatly increased, and is considered to be at present about 4500. Some years ago St. Magdalen's Distillery was much enlarged, and now employs about 40 men. In 1860 about 120,000 gallons of whisky were produced; the present annual output is nearly 240,000 gallons. The paper manufactories of Loch Mill and Avon Mill employ about 180 persons, and make over 3000 tons of paper annually, paying in wages fully £7000 yearly. It is confidently anticipated that in a few years Linlithgow Loch will not only become most attractive to anglers, but that the revenue from it will be greatly increased, as the proprietor of the Hatchery has introduced into it since 1884 no fewer than 630,000 trout. Nearly 500 have been caught by net and rod, all of them in a healthy condition and of splendid quality, the average weight being over a pound.

The Earl of Rosebery in 1886 was pleased to designate Linlithgow "The Windsor of Scotland." We sincerely hope that the town may soon be so improved that all will be compelled to admit the appropriateness of the noble Earl's estimate.